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HISTORY is always the more interesting, the more personal it is; but it is not enough that it is full of personal details, anecdotes of statesmen and warriors, the leaders of literature and of opinion. It must furnish us with the spectacle of complete characters, developed in the fewest lines and colours consistent with the number of essential traits in the portraiture. Some periods of our history, from the nature of the leading men themselves, and the relation of circumstances to them, as fitted to educe their chief faculties and tendencies, are peculiarly abounding in interest. The reign of Elizabeth, and the Commonwealth, and the epoch of Anne, stand out as stepping-stones for the student amidst the unsteady footing of the neighbouring marshes. The men and the times then perfectly accorded. The nationality of the Elizabethan era and its martial glories, and the social instincts of the reign of Charles I., found, or partly created, no more efficient representatives in the Cecils, and Drakes, and Sydneys, the Hampdens and the Cokes, than the dark conspiracies of one half of the nation against the other of the last period met with in the equivocating parliamentary *finesse* of Harley, or the subtle plots and fierce unscrupulousness of S. John.

The same mist of confusion which is spread over the struggle of great causes in the reigns of Edward VI. and Mary, of James I., Charles II., his brother, and William, envelopes in yet darker folds the Georgian era. There are few persons who do not recognise the names of the authors of the Reformation, of the initiators of the great conflict between prerogative and privilege in the reign of the first James, and of the men who exhausted its dregs in those of his grandsons. There are as few to whom the names of Walpole, and Stanhope, Chesterfield, Pulteney, and Wyndham, convey no meaning. But, while ordinary

readers know little but the names of Wyatt, Gardiner and Pole, Philips and Earl, Halifax, Danby, and Shrewsbury, even well-read men are not ashamed of the same ignorance respecting the foremost combatants in the first half of the eighteenth century. There is a sort of maze and obscurity almost necessary to the beginning of a chain of events. We look upon the circumstances near the origin only as conditions of the final result, and reserve the title of cause for some one single and final effort. What are the motives of the chief actors, and, therefore, what their characters, we cannot as yet determine. They go off the stage, or give way to others, and we have no opportunity of discovering whether the enterprise were begun by them in the same spirit in which it has been concluded. In the preliminary actions themselves there is too much of what is tentative and experimental, too much of complication and combination with other more or less cognate schemes, to allow us to make them an index of character. Till we can contemplate the actions as a whole we can hardly succeed in doing so with the men themselves.

This is a difficulty which applies yet more peculiarly to the age of Walpole. The last relics of old-world history in England had been rudely shattered by the death of Anne. Politicians, except the few who looked (and even they did so as a matter rather of theory than of practical hope and calculation) to S. Germains, kept back nothing of the past but reminiscences of the Revolution of 1689. Even this itself, the inauguration though it were of the present state of things, was a mere matter of history, a *fait accompli*, not the actual basis of the constitution, but a kind of scaffolding no longer required but as a monument. The slender interest, or rather the gross apathy, with which rebellions in Scotland and inroads into England were regarded, was no test of popular regret for an expiring cause, and disinclination to draw the sword for their chosen dynasty. It arose much more from the incapability in the national mind of conceiving any danger to the established order, or of supposing that any could any longer believe that things were still in a chaotic condition, that the age of revolutions was not gone by. The same social interests as now, the same political questions, the reciprocal calumnies of the opposed coteries of fashion, the whispers of Piccadilly, and stories of maids of honour, the balance of power, the policy of subsidizing foreign states, or the limits and expediency of direct taxation, were the topics of discussion and interest. Except one broken range of low hills marking the epoch of the French Revolution, there is nothing to intercept the view over the vast plain which lies between our manners and theirs.

In all this space of time there have been many modifications

of feeling, and of the relations of society ; there has been, since the portion especially before us, one continuous progress of reform. There have been various constitutional modifications, but no single mental revolution. Readers do not find any contrast with our own times to attract their attention, no reason for dwelling on discussions and contests, apparently on the same questions with those now agitated. It requires a peculiarly constituted mind, in fact, the historian's eye, to see history in the topics and form of a newspaper. Far from a deficiency of materials being the explanation of the neglect practised towards the period, the very abundance of them is a partial cause of this result. Letters, biographies, anecdotes and *vers de société* are among the most genuine sources of history, but are by no means history itself. Politicians and anecdote-mongers have always found in the last century materials for their several works. Our modern politics is a direct continuation of the politics of that day ; our modern fashions and manners are just sufficiently modified and toned down from those to give all the force of contrast and the interest of eccentricity to tales of the fine gentlemen and court ladies of S. James's or Leicester House. The period has been used, like the palaces and temples of old Rome, as a quarry whence to hew out the thoughts and fancies of the present, while all the surrounding country has become, from the neighbourhood of the great city, and the very destruction of all the relics of its wild forests, a desolate campagna, where the student seems afraid to linger. The circumstances which should, under better auspices, have made these times the favourite sphere of the historical reader, have been turned into an occasion for their abandonment. No novelty or certainty of result is anticipated from a Parliamentary history crowded with discussions about yet unsettled and open questions, and no amusement from the lives of men which have furnished already the tritest anecdotes in collections of 'Elegant Extracts,' and the moral of many an obvious proverb.

Yet in that wilderness lie concealed many pleasant spots ; and grand torsos may still be dug up from among its ruined monuments. Without turning the investigation into a barren controversy about Whig and Tory, there is a way of opening out a track of useful and productive considerations. To embrace the whole in one brief and comprehensive survey is all but impossible. There are too many, at present, apparently distinct centres of light and of action to allow of such a treatment. No one great idea pervading and tempering all the rest, at first can be discovered. The most that can be done is to find in some one section of the entire group of events a type and index of the rest ; to concentrate our attention on the life and character of some representative

man, some disposer of circumstances, and, therefore, over the formation of whose temperament we have a right to consider circumstances must, according to the immutable law of action and reaction, have had in turn a control.

Above all, the nature of the period compels the use of such a method. With all its flatness and dull level it is the most biographical section of our history. It was, unlike the half-heroic half-feudal age of the Tudors, no age when great minds monopolised history; nor, as throughout the reigns of the Stuarts, remarkable for distinctions of doctrine and sentiment; nay, it was unmarked even by the socio-political medley, the club tendencies of the two post-Revolution governments, when high-born and low-born, statesmen and writers of squibs, courtiers and poets, had each their all-engrossing political schemes to elaborate, when every private circle had its public objects, and social distinctions were neutralized, though not annihilated or forgotten. On the contrary, it displayed very little sentiment, little of what is national, little even of what is personal. The biographical age of history, it yet adds scarcely any portraits, but the postdated ones of Bolingbroke and Wyndham, to the world's gallery of types the ideals of separate classes of character. Above all others, the age of Walpole was the era of social badges, when society was first and last, negligent of hereditary glories, loving a coronet much for the precedence it gave, and caring not whether it were bought by ancestral crimes or sacrifices, honouring a dukedom less than a blue riband, and wealth combined with fashion more than either. The boundaries of the social line were then most strictly defined; but the pride of long descent, with a parvenu dynasty and a like nobility heading society, was lightly overleaped. Society became all in all, and avenged itself for having been absorbed by politics in a former reign, by now drawing the latter within the relaxing fascination of its own sphere. This close union between the two, with the unnatural relation between them of inferiority and supremacy, invests the time with its most picturesque hues. Norman blood was indeed disregarded, but the recent epoch of the Revolution was admitted as a source of distinctions even in society, of a circle within a circle. Many pocket boroughs, or the commanding, even tyrannic, genius of a Pitt, were required to obviate the sneers of families which boasted of a representative among the founders of the Kit Cat, or some champion on one side or the other in the great conflict with Harley and S. John, against all who had not these glories to display. Within this line every one of riches sufficient for moving in the same circle knew every one. S. James's Square and Piccadilly had a vested right in the distribution of offices, or to be consulted in respect of the

maneuvres of the opposition. Each new ministry, or model for a new one, became a family—or clique—compact, and the choicest artillery of public warfare were furnished out of the storehouse of private life and old familiarity. The individuals, therefore, whose lives we select as representing this period, must be men like it, leaders of society, as well as of parliament, with all the personal gifts necessary for prominence in both, *i.e.*, the wealth and the Revolution-fame, which had become conditions of a sphere for their exercise. They must not be above the slanders of such a period levelled against themselves, or of characters too elevated to avail themselves of similar weapons. We must not look for heroes in politics, or for bold originators of a policy in statesmen whom we are forced to contemplate not as conspiring with other statesmen, or the referees of poets and essayists, but most remarkable—at least, too many of them—as denizens of the West End, and givers of sumptuous dinner-parties. But even among them we may discover some exceptions, incomplete heroes, it is true, as all the foremost then were, or they could scarcely have gained their rank in such times; but though imperfect in character, with many noble traits revealing what they might have, under other circumstances, become, or made themselves, under these. There were men then of undaunted courage, of an inexorable obstinacy against overtures and bribes, which we must approve, when the offspring of noble indignation, and which we cannot refuse to admire, even if arising from somewhat meaner sources. Eloquence had not died with S. John's expatriation; but, while losing something of its fire and strength, had gained in variety and interest. Add to all this, a bitter personality blending public with private animosity, condescending to calumnies, and then again rising to the solemnity of tragedy, and loudly calling for the blood of a tyrant-minister. Even that retribution which always, sooner or later, waits upon public spirit directed to private ends, and the awakening of national passions for the gratification of party, or lower than party, virulence, and without which there would be all that ambiguity and incompleteness of result which is the great obstacle to our taking interest in the history of our own day, is not wanting here. All their wealth and pre-eminence, great powers of mind, and the patriotism which some once may have possessed, and had deceived themselves into believing they still cherished, did not save the leaders of the mightiest and most obstinate opposition ever known from a most degrading fall. We are not left for a moment in doubt of the moral and completeness of the whole series of events. The same month which embraces the records of their triumph includes also the narrative of their humiliation and deposition.

One man, and perhaps only one, there is who is indicated by the meeting of all these circumstances—wealth and allowed rank, among Whig statesmen, wit, and social as well as parliamentary pre-eminence, rancour and eloquence, with the moral of his success and his fall—as, on the whole, the best representative of the period in which he flourished. Round him the chief captains in the camp of opposition group themselves; against him the most numerous assaults from the side of government are directed; his life is itself an index of all the landmarks in the social and political history of the time. The mere length of it makes a sort of bridge over from the old world objects of Anne's reign, to the to-day sympathies of the American Revolution. He had fought in that conflict, and was brought into direct connexion and relations with the opponents of the policy of that queen's last four years. With them he acted for a large portion of his political existence; but his sympathies and schemes had no tinge of the past any more than the mass of the nation whose idol he was. We naturally associate the name of his great rival with those of Marlborough, and Somers, and Godolphin; but it is hard even to think of *him* as haranguing against Sacheverell, and consoling Walpole in the Tower.

William Pulteney entered public life under good auspices. His father, indeed, had done little to increase the distinction of the family, which took its name from its original seat in Leicestershire, and laid claim to Norman descent. But his grandfather, Sir William, had been long member for Westminster, and a liberal sufficiently celebrated to introduce his descendant at once to the heart of the Whig party. Nature had done much to make a statesman in him; Westminster and Christ Church (where his Latin verses, spirited indeed, but with no ideas above a schoolboy's, recommended him to the favour of Dean Aldrich and the post of speaker of a very smooth and very tame address to Queen Anne, on her visit to Tory Oxford, spite of his Whiggish antecedents), along with the grand tour which he achieved through the greater part of Europe on leaving college, furnished his mind with that taste and judgment, which, at least in speaking, never forsook him. He entered public life at the stormiest period of our political history, full to the last of hereditary prejudices, augmented by those of his natural associates, and with a disposition to view all things through the medium of suspicion of men's motives, a tendency which the atmosphere he then breathed did not aid in changing, and which the character of the period in which the zenith of his strength and activity fell, made still more fatal. Hereditary wealth and adventitious riches, which flowed in till his fortune swelled to the then gigantic bulk of £1,200,000, based upon a marriage with a rich

co-heiress, Ann Gumley, and a bequest of £50,000 from a staunch friend, Guy, the secretary to the Treasury, perhaps only aggravated the natural defects of his temper. The love of money implanted in him by the growth of his possessions, made him envious of the great gains of his old friends and confederates, while a soul above corruption, and the consciousness of perfect independence in point of fortune, which made him almost by himself a party in the state, gave him all the eccentricity and impracticability of opposition already manifested in the career of Shaftesbury, and destined to have a third impersonation in Fox.

However, on his first entrance into parliament, where he obtained a seat through the influence of Guy in the borough of Heydon, these great defects of disposition and principles of action were themselves merits. All England was become one vast scene of intrigue and disaffection, and public aims had all the narrowness and viciousness of private selfishness. The sovereign herself was looked upon as a conspirator against her throne, and the principles which had established her on it, by the vast party by whom those principles had been confirmed; and the defeated adherents of the old policy were divided between sympathy with the queen as secretly their supporter and fellow-thinker, and dislike to the usurpation which this doctrine forced them to deem her authority. Pulteney's wealth and name, while they drew him over to the liberal side, soon gave him influence in the deliberations of the Whig confederacy. He was not eager to manifest himself as eloquent, for from the first his position was acknowledged; he took the best method to become so, by exercising himself in short business speeches, and accustoming himself never to speak without having something to say to the point. Yet more, by abstaining rigorously from all got-up demonstrations, but not from previous deliberation on the points most likely to be mooted, he rose gradually to such perfect ease and command over the interest of his audience, as, we are told, by the 'application even of a little story, to overset the best argumentation.' His first speeches did not, nor was it intended that they should, produce a great impression on the house. The Place Bill had called him up; but the country was first warned to expect a leader by his earnestness and vehemence in the prosecution of Sacheverell.

Through all the period of dejection, and, sometimes, despair for his party, Pulteney shrunk from no part of the burden. The Tories testified their opinion of his resoluteness by dismissing his uncle, no great partisan himself, from the Board of Trade. When Walpole was prosecuted for what seems a somewhat unjustifiable transaction in his secretaryship-at-war, if we

reason on abstract principles, but one which, according to the morality of those days, was rather to the credit of his heart, Pulteney, who had been more particularly introduced into the arena of politics by him, stood by his old patron, and was proud of being admitted as a partner at the games of nine-pins with which the silence of the old Tower was often broken. When the famous 'History of the Last Parliament' came forth from Walpole's pen, it was Pulteney who was chosen, and who gladly consented to take the office of editor. With Walpole and Stanhope he was S. John's guest in Golden Square, when that minister had at length plotted against and deposed Harley, and discovered, in his turn, in the plenitude of his absolute sway, that a prime minister must seek by a spirit of concession to be the ruler of the whole nation, and not one party's nominee and slave. But, at that very crisis, when it seemed that all hope for the old Whig houses was gone, and that nothing remained but to make the best terms possible with the conquerors, when the peace of Utrecht was ratified for good and all by the rise to supreme power of its chief author, and Pulteney had to bemoan the useless expenditure of his wealth in subsidizing the emperor, ever its main antagonist, the ruin of the Tories, and their subordination to their adversaries for more than half a century, was sealed.

On the final triumph of his friends, Pulteney's claims upon office were recognised. He was made lord-lieutenant and *custos rotulorum* of Yorkshire, admitted to the privy council, and, spite of the opposition of the commander-in-chief, the great Duke of Marlborough, to any adherent of Walpole, and the nominee, whoever he might be, to an office he claimed as within his patronage, elevated to the post of secretary-at-war, which in his case, as in those of S. John and Walpole, was regarded as the stepping-stone to greater appointments. But, though high in the ranks of his party, he was still but the follower of Walpole. In fact, he was never formed for a leader. He had no love of responsibility, and of the steadiness required for such a character, nor the necessary patience. Circumstances alone forced him into that post, and even then it was only in the desultory warfare of an opposition which can choose its own time for an assault, that he developed genius. In that secret committee, of which the lifelong enemy of the late aspiring secretary was the chairman, Pulteney was an efficient member, and the enthusiasm of his temperament, which sometimes amounted to fanaticism, had full scope for display.

Never of his own will and choice was his eloquence employed in vindicating a positive course of policy. He had acuteness at will to detect a flaw in the policy of an enemy, but not

the subtlety which elaborates a scheme of conduct for oneself. Under the guidance of Walpole, indeed, he was a most conspicuous defender of the expediency of a triple alliance between England, Holland, and France, which, under the auspices of the Orleans Regency, had laid aside the ambitious schemes of the former reign, and promised to be the guardian of peace in Europe. In allusion to this measure these and Stanhope bore the *nom de guerre* of 'the triple alliance.' However, soon again he reverted to the negative character, and burst out into a manifestation of that chronic fierceness which he had, in words, ever at command. To him it fell to impeach Lord Widdrington for the rebellion of 1715; and we find him, about the same time, haranguing against a motion to address the crown for a proclamation of amnesty to all rebels laying down their arms. Soon, too, he was hurried into opposition, a state from which he never again completely emerged, even in the days of his friends' triumphs. There was, however, in his character a sort of consistency which, no doubt, appeared greater to himself than to others, but still such, that *some* of his established principles he never violated. He felt obliged to send in his resignation when Walpole's influence proved inferior to Stanhope's in the cabinet; but, though we can scarcely agree with the author of '*Memoirs of the Life and Conduct*', a publication of the time, that 'he detested the proceedings of the former, condemned the false step he had taken, and stood firm as a rock in defence of his king and country,' it does seem from the correspondence of Stair with Stanhope (1716), that Pulteney, then at Paris, was averse to that open union between the Tories, as Tories, and Walpole's followers, which had led, the previous year, to the acquittal of the detested Earl of Oxford. Unlike Walpole, who affected, *ad nauseam*, the character of an old-fashioned English country gentleman, and whose vacation revels at Houghton were a scandal to the county, Pulteney loved the Continent, and embraced all opportunities of a tour. His present residence abroad, no doubt, was connected with his perplexity at his position as a voluntary associate in the defection from Government, while bound in conscience not to oppose their measures. The discontent and suspicion of Walpole, which his decidedly factious conduct at this period justified, was augmented and confirmed by his underhand manœuvring for a return to power. The reconciliation of the king and prince, and the trouble consequent upon the South Sea schemes, were the scaffolding of his elevation. The support and eloquence of Pulteney were his chief resource, and yet no place was found in the grand edifice which he reared for himself for that bosom friend.

It has long been the fashion to blame the great minister for

his folly in having, by his suspiciousness and jealousy, himself collected the opposition whence finally sprung his fall: that he did so, there can be no question. ‘He could forgive great faults, but not great talents.’ Yet, can it be for a moment supposed that, with a different policy, he could have grasped or retained that tyrant power, which he swayed of his own free will, and, so long as Hanover was safe, and enriched by English gold, without a murmur from the king, and, while he held the keys of the treasury, with no need of yielding to troublesome demands of confidence from his subordinates! Even had he kept that chieftainship, which already the companionship of Stanhope had wrested from his grasp, and that of Townshend threatened, how could he have played the dictator, as he delighted to do, with Chesterfield, and Pulteney arrogating an equal standing with himself, and ready to coerce each symptom of supremacy! Walpole was not a man to care for an empty name. He loved the reality of power, to feel the wills of other men bowing beneath his own. Though ungenerous, cold-hearted, and sordid, he resembled the elder Pitt in the self-reliance and courage which, depending on its own resources, chooses the incapacity and feebleness of the Pelhams, as coadjutors, in preference to sharing authority and responsibility with minds of infinitely larger proportions. Thus, perhaps taught by his friend’s reluctance and impracticableness in changing his principles along with his position, he embraced the opportunity of his having joined himself in resigning office, to bar his return to prominence in the government. It was a base mean thing, and has its moral in that time when confused, dejected, seeing his friends flying on all sides, and the whole nation apparently thirsting for his blood, he gave way to his former companion. That the latter reaped little gain from the victory, that he ‘*animam in vulnere ponit*,’ does not diminish from the pointedness of the moral, but doubles it. A friend’s ingratitude is not an explanation (though an extenuation) of dereliction of principle.

For the present, the enmity of the two former friends only smouldered. Walpole returned to office, though with, apparently, less authority than he had possessed before his resignation. But all the fruits of that measure were gained. He had proved by his temporary absence of what consequence his co-operation was; and the death of Stanhope, with the bursting of the South Sea Bubble, carried him to the height even of his ambition. Pulteney he did not care to carry along with him. On the contrary, he did him the honour to be sufficiently jealous of his possible rivalry to procure the offer of a peerage for him, in the hope that his well-known wish to found a great house might seduce him to a desertion of the natural sphere of

his eloquence and popular manners, the House of Commons. The offer was civilly declined; and the interpretation of the motives of it left to rankle in the younger statesman's breast. He was the more bitter internally that it was impossible to commence opposition on such purely personal grounds. He only felt that his services had been slighted, and his friends neglected, without being able to persuade himself that the country had anything to do with that. We find the same emotions of ill-temper and indignation manifesting themselves on the grand occasion for a display of Walpole's financial abilities which the South Sea defalcations presented. He himself had once had an opportunity of speculating largely in the shares of the company; and he seems, even in the midst of his indignation at the misery of the kingdom as contrasted with the facts that 'the opera is very fine 'and very full, and the court very rich in foreign silks and velvet-vets,' to regret not having availed himself of the chance. 'Tis 'ridiculous to tell you what a sum I might have been master of,' he writes to his cousin.

Some faint hopes he still nourished of Walpole's fidelity to his old friends, and he was ready to catch at every indication of coolness between him and ministers. However, the all-powerful influence of the former with the bank directors and the moneyed interest, was too great and too necessary even for the jealousies of colleagues to disturb him. Meantime, Pulteney still spoke furiously on questions which ministers advocated; and, perhaps, with the greater zeal, to justify him from the suspicion of being actuated in his now known dislike, by private objects. It was he who moved for the confiscation of the ill-gotten wealth of the South Sea directors; and when Bishop Atterbury was charged with being implicated in the Stuart plots, he moved for the bill of attainder and the address of congratulation to the king. He even condescended to ask and accept the lucrative, but, for him, degrading post of cofferer of the royal household, to prove himself no renegade from his party, and not disaffected to the dynasty he had ever supported. He perhaps hoped that, once in office again, he would be too manifestly considerable for his place, and must rise to power with the most powerful. If he thought so, he was deceived. Walpole never swerved from his policy about men, however ready he proved to change his measures. He looked upon the cofferership as a pledge of peace given by Pulteney, not as his own guarantee of higher things. The other, who was changeable as the winds, soon repented of his course, and determined to show that he was not compromised by his position. In accordance with the traditional rather than practical doctrine, that office bound the acceptor to the sovereign, not the minister, he concerted a scheme of opposition the most

irritating to the latter, a scheme of perfect independence. He interpreted his place as letters of marque granted by the monarch against Whig and against Tory. This was enough to satisfy his own mind, fretted as it was by what he deemed, and rightly, his old leader's ingratitude, into a morbid confounding of neglect of himself with a belief in the neglect by him of the ideal of Revolution principles. It was not enough to satisfy the country. A cry was still wanting; and a cry Opposition at last prevailed upon themselves to think they had found.

Thus the year 1725 drew on. There was a storm on the political horizon, the blackening of which Walpole had not foreseen. Like ministers generally, he was placed too high above the mass. The horizon which bounded their view did not bind his, or hinder him from seeing what an array of private anger and interests were ranged close behind the outside of patriotism. He thought the nation could see as far. When it was too late, and the tempest was just about to burst, he tried in vain to dispel it. His resolution and his principles of action were the same as ever. He was determined not to part with a jot of his power or absolutism; but he thought, and rightly, that the proffer even of a secretaryship of state to Pulteney was not really a departure from his policy. The latter was wise enough to see that he was already too far compromised with the minister's enemies to go back now, with any hope of retaining their friendship; or, at all events, his fury against him stood him in the place of sagacity. To a hint that Townshend would soon cease to hold the seals, he replied with a simple bow and smile. To a second and recent offer of a peerage he had already bitterly responded: 'Sir, if ever I should be mean enough to be sold, I promise you that you shall never have the selling of me. A peerage is what, some time or other, I may be glad of accepting, for the sake of my family; but I will never obtain it by any base method, or submit to have it got for me on such terms by you.'

It was not, in fact, concealed from himself or the country, that the contest was a personal one between himself and Walpole; but the principles which had led to that contest, affected the whole kingdom. When the nation rose against Walpole, it did not mean to impugn the Revolution of 1689. It was the natural mistake of the Jacobites to suppose that hatred of persons, and of the principles of which these persons were the authorised champions, was one and the same thing. No two things, at least at this period, could be more diverse. The people were incensed against the ministry, inclined to sneer at the sovereign, and with no feeling of sympathy or unison with the aristocracy. Yet it

could not understand the point of view of those politicians who wished to introduce the little court of Compiegne to S. James's. Tories it could comprehend; Old Whigs and New Whigs were become something obsolete; yet men knew that these were the former party names, and were ready to believe English principles were represented by them; but a champion for the indefeasible title of the Stuarts was a being quite beyond the reach of their analogies. It was their very fulness of recognition of the Revolution which made Pulteney a popular champion. The Cliffords and the Danbys had undermined the throne of the Stuarts, with their organized systems of corruption. They had forced the nation to learn that they must not trust to any body of delegates; that they must be themselves their own guardians against the aggressions of prerogative; that the chivalrous idea of mutual good faith between rulers and people was a chimera. But, at that time, they had a double task; they had, it is true, to watch that their representatives did their duty; but they had also to back them up, to guarantee them the free performance of what they believed their duty.

The Revolution had, once for all, marked out the boundaries between prerogative and privilege. Parliament had a right and perfect liberty to act for the kingdom's general welfare. To the nation, then, Pulteney cried, that it was betrayed by its own guardians, that the power it had extorted from the crown for them, they used not against the crown but for themselves; that the theory of the constitution was complete; that the Whiggism of the Revolution was the only true political faith, but that the practice of the priests was corrupt. He bade them look to the Bill of Rights and the Act of Settlement, and see whether the Revolution had not pledged their rulers against threatening their liberties with standing armies, or armies of placemen, the Janizaries of a government; against robbing England for the gain of a foreign principality. He bade them mark the Treaty of Hanover, the Secret Service funds, Hessian and Hanoverian mercenaries. 'The time might yet come,' he exclaimed, 'when we should see a tyrant minister driving about with six members of parliament behind his coach!' To the parliament he used a different tone. To the Whig enemies of Walpole's power, angry at want of enough places to satisfy all expectants, he used one common argument. They were all alike victims of the minister's jealousy. In each the latter saw a possible rival, and each who had no sufficient post conferred upon him was, in his own belief, not despised, but feared. Walpole was too needy and prodigal, he warned them, to let them share the public treasure. Houghton needed all that was left from the buying of votes

and of boroughs. He appealed to the spectacle of a crowd of Whigs, known statesmen, ejected by the usurper; he terrified them with indicating that each new year of his power was only making him more absolute and more independent. To the independent he spoke of the nullity of their votes and wisdom, when one man had the command of power and wealth to purchase a majority at any time; to the corrupted, of the growing strength of their 'grand corrupter,' which would soon make votes a drug, and of the growing rage of their constituencies. The Jacobites he terrified with the friendship between Fleury and the Walpoles, and the care for the interests of the king's German patrimony. The Tories were roused with the hope of emancipation from their political disfranchisement, as it were, by glorious prophecies of a future, when parties should be no more, and declamations against the perversion now of party badges into standards of faction and the watchwords of licensed robbers.

The charge of general corruption of parliament by the minister, though levelled against the very assembly in which it was put forth, could not, true as it was, but undermine the power of a government. It was like a bomb, with a slow match, cast into the midst of the parliament and of the nation. The people could not tell what statesman on the ministerialist side was guilty or not, what measure was the product or not of bribery. All alike, both men and measures, it was inclined to condemn, in order to crush the guilty thing at all events. It had felt already that that assembly, with all the powers of the state won for it by the nation from the crown, was not a true representative of itself; it was an easy step from thence to infer its perfect selfishness and want of patriotism. The Commons, on the other hand, was convulsed with terror of the popular suspicions. Each man knew that both his neighbour's eye was upon his conduct, and the eye of his constituency; nay—for in those days of close boroughs and open bribery, that was not, perhaps, of so much consequence—the eye of the whole country. Every vote for Walpole was looked upon as the possible fruit of corruption; consistency in voting always on the minister's side would only be thought consistency in corruption, variation would lose a man the confidence of friends and foes. Even to the man's self an honest balancing of the arguments for and against any motion would be all but an impossibility. He would suspect the unbiassed truthfulness of his own conclusions. One way was open to no doubt. Co-operation with the tactics of Opposition was a certain policy. No suspicion of bribery could attach to the adherents of the struggling cause. The man could not suspect his own candour, when he decided against his manifest

interest. Even to the dishonest, that manifest interest was rather dubious. With the country exclaiming against the government, with all the talents ranged against it, victory and the spoils of the vanquished were the sure reward of Opposition, sooner or later.

But Pulteney was from the first not alone. The enthusiastic fervour, not to call it declamation, of Wyndham, the last relic of the by-gone Cavaliers, was ranged on the same side; and many a fierce sarcasm pointed by the minister's inveterate foe, from schoolboy days, Lord Bolingbroke, and many a pregnant idea hammered out on the strong brilliant forge of that statesman's mind, shone forth amid the grave full flow of Wyndham's oratory. For an elaborate and sustained attack, the latter produced a greater effect even than his parliamentary chieftain; but there was not the same variety and life, not the readiness and spontaneity, lastly, not the *ήθικη πλοτίς* of a life's adherence to liberal principles, which concentrated so much interest on the latter. With him, too, were Shippen and his fifty followers, that systematic partisan, who could forget the services of S. John and vote against his restoration, and who could even desert his party in the final struggle against Walpole, consistent alone in the resolve to make all parties and doctrines the tools of his own policy. There was Sandys, ever ready to lead the onset which was to secure the spoils for his friends, and with a dangerous force, in making a statement based on topics supplied by Pulteney: he had Barnard, the representative of the section of the moneyed interest, opposed to the bank directors, Walpole's staunch supporters, for his leader and preceptor on all financial questions; and, later, in the Upper House, Chesterfield, the most finished, but not, therefore, the most effective orator of his time, with his studied passion and quaint thoughtfulness. The ranks of opposition in the Commons, were, at the same period, embellished by the polished taste of Lyttelton, and the fire and truthfulness of Pitt—the latter almost the only man of the epoch who seemed to have an actual object, a positive policy, to be elaborated in some future Utopia after the fall of the reigning cabinet, apart from private aggrandizement—about him alone there is, in these artificial times of 'Roman virtue and patriotism,' connected with whippers-in and Treasury agents, an air of reality. It is strange that he was condemned throughout the whole of his political career to association with, and instrumentality in the sordid selfishness of the least worthy statesmen of the period. Compelled into the lines of opposition by Walpole's sentence of exclusion from his adherents, for a single vote given against him, he fell naturally into the wake of

Leicester House, that organised scene of intrigue and domestic plots of the heir against the occupant of the throne. His was the fault and misfortune of lack of riches and influence enough to stand alone in so corrupt an age. It was his merit and glory that what were signs of factiousness in others, first, a high place in that little copy of a court's worst qualities, and, next, subservience to the craving for all a cabinet's patronage, the chief trait in the Duke of Newcastle's soul, were converted by him into a means of effectuating real aims. He was never completely a member of opposition, though he voted on that side, and aided it by his eloquence. That party could never thoroughly understand or control his flights, while they often profited by them.

Of Leicester House, under its second occupant, Pulteney was the regular oracle, but he was by that time too great to be its voice. He did not govern himself by its advice. Of George II., when prince, he had remained a consistent adherent. He had been excluded from official knowledge of the negotiation, which led in 1720 to a reconciliation between him and the king his father; and we have seen that he never forgave Walpole for a reserve which he believed originated in his jealousy. He was the more irritated that the communication to him of each step of the treaty by Mr. Edgcumbe, proved that others were thought worthy of initiation into the mystery. It seems that he even went so far as to warn the prince against letting himself 'be sold to his father's minister, by persons' (Walpole) 'who considered nothing but themselves and their own interest, 'and were in haste to make their fortunes.' 'What,' he declared he had cried to Walpole, when told with a sneer, that, as the reward for the pacification, the prince was 'to go to court again, 'and have his guards, and such fine things,' but not to be left regent in the king's absence from England—'What! have you 'stipulated for a share of royalty for yourself, and is the prince 'to live as a private subject of no consequence in the kingdom?' When the prince had discovered that his adviser was right, and that his interests were totally disregarded in the new arrangements, he reverted to the old course. At Leicester House the campaign was concerted, and there the wit of Mrs. Howard (Lady Suffolk) and the judgment of the Princess Caroline furnished even Pulteney with useful suggestions. There met all the wit and learning which had survived the establishment of the new dynasty. Pope and Gay were welcome guests, and a letter from Ireland, at times, revived reminiscences of that mighty intellect which was there ever agitating new schemes, talking of hatred for mankind, but showing his love for it by persecuting its oppressors, and projecting measures of enlarged

philanthropy. Mrs. Howard had her train of admirers, her Peterborough, and her poets, and *beaux esprits*, while ever and anon the meditative countenance of a Butler, a Clarke, or a Pearce, fresh from some discussion before the princess, on the depths and heights of metaphysics, mingled in her more brilliant levee. It was a pleasant contrast to the dull formalities of S. James's, where Walpole discoursed in bad Latin with his sovereign, and the clumsy graces of the Countess of Kimansegge and the Duchess of Kendal held heavy sway. The princess, with a great deal of French affectation of *esprit*, and much real sagacity, was herself well able to give a charm to the rival court; and a rightful jealousy of her 'good Howard's' influence with the prince was not displayed so openly (though politicians discovered by the event that they had totally miscalculated both the depth of her feelings, and of her power over her husband) as to cause anything like a spirit of party or a schism.

Leicester House was the natural centre of opposition. The spirit which had nourished the clubs of Queen Anne's reign was gone; the mark and object of political combinations was not measures but men; and no recognised society could now be formed on a basis sufficiently broad to comprehend all the members of an opposition founded on motives of personal connexion, rather than principles. The tendency of society itself was against such institutions; there could be no sympathy between Grub-Street and Piccadilly, when the denizens of Piccadilly actually made that their home, instead of the coffee-house and the tavern. The charm of the Kit Cat club, of which Pulteney had been a distinguished member, arose from the union there of wit with wealth and rank. It sat as a critical tribunal, adjudicating not only upon politics but upon literature. When wit was forced to show a pecuniary qualification, the vivacity of such meetings disappeared altogether, or they were exchanged for the clumsy humour and unadulterated politics of aristocratic gatherings, such as the exclusive 'Beef-steak and Liberty Club.' From the coffee-houses and taverns of Charles II.'s reign the passage had been short to the more select democracy of a club. Thence, under the Georges, to the political conferences of the fashionable coteries of the *salons* of S. James's Square, and, especially, of Leicester House, was no very sudden declension. Tories who were not Jacobites, could predict the rise thence of a true conservative policy, which should be consistent in not disturbing the present revolutionized state of things, and, at the same time, in not suffering fresh changes. Discontented Whigs beheld in it the seat of a prince who had no title but from the Act of Settlement, but who was bound thereto in principle, and not by personal obligations to a special

clique of ministers. Radicals, lastly, that negative party, which a period of revolution always throws up, men whose minds have got a bias to perpetual alterations, or whom the new order has not exactly suited, found there a perpetual hurly-burly of murmurs and complaints, nothing positive to be opposed, but resistance advocated to all that was so.

Pulteney's supremacy in opposition was without dispute. His place was consequently high in the little court. For some reason or other he was no favourite personally with the prince or princess, nor does his supposed mistake in guessing that the mistress must be more powerful than the wife with the husband explain this. In fact, after all, George II. and Caroline were as Hanoverian as George I. The measures which the former had once opposed he really loved, and as king advocated, and Walpole's cold temper and method of government were, spite of *esprit*, much more in harmony with Caroline's German feelings than the cleverness and popular ways of his rival. The men of letters his rival introduced, and who gave the court a popular air of patronage, of learning and wit, were men of Queen Anne's day, and more naturally betook themselves to flattering Lady Suffolk than her mistress. One person her influence introduced, whose name was destined to become sufficiently notorious at a later period. We are surprised to learn that the notorious Duchess of Kingston, the convicted of bigamy, and the prime enemy of Foote, was, as Miss Chudleigh, patronised by the statesman, and elevated by him to the place of maid of honour. He even condescended to watch over her studies, seeking to imbue her with a taste for good reading; but, with all his wit, the accomplished Pulteney, when he resorted to grave instruction, seems to have proved a dull companion for the young lady. The men of letters, such as Gay and Swift, Pope and Arbuthnot, who met at Leicester House, as formerly at the table of Harley, or the *Brothers'* dinners, had gained admission as his friends. They fell off from it when his interest there declined. Originally they were no companions of his. The sympathy of a common dislike to the existing condition of things brought them together, and when once brought into contact, Pulteney made the bond of political fellow-feeling a bond of personal friendship. Chesterfield, surely a competent judge, declares him to have been 'formed by nature for 'social and convivial pleasures . . . to have had lively and shining 'parts, a surprising quickness of wit, and a happy turn to the 'most amusing and entertaining kinds of poetry, as epigrams, 'ballads, odes,' &c. 'Good humour and the spirit of society 'dictated his poetry,' writes the generally contemptuous Horace Walpole. 'So familiar and engaging was he that you could 'not be with him half an hour but you felt yourself entirely at

'ease. . . . He gained admiration by not seeking it; his wit 'was all natural and easy, arising from something then said or 'done,' is the testimony of his constant companion Bishop Newton. For social talents, Mrs. Grenville, who often saw all the chiefs of opposition together at her husband's table, thought no one comparable to him. A *bon mot* of his echoed through the town, as his speeches roused the kingdom. Add to this, he was enormously wealthy, and not sparing of his riches, at all events, in the appeals of literature, or in his domestic establishment. Gay, his rival in glory and odium, as Swift calls him, he loved as did all; he admired Pope, and Pope admired, and wrote of him,

'How can I Pulteney, Chesterfield forget,
While Roman spirit charms or Attic wit.'

But the poet was too completely absorbed by his love for S. John to admit his coadjutors to perfect intimacy. With the great Dean over the water he maintained an intermittent but most cordial correspondence. Perhaps there was not enough of self-sustainedness, or steadiness, in Pulteney's character to satisfy Swift altogether, but for a time common hatred of the minister left no opening for caprice. Earnestly does he invite Swift over to England, engaging that there shall be 'no made dishes; he shall have half-and-half, or small beer 'and wine, no women at table if you don't like them, and no 'men but such as like you.'

It is strange to find one of their most rancorous opponents received thus cordially into the bosom of the '*Brothers*'; it is still stranger to see him and Bolingbroke, on the restoration of the latter in fortune, not peerage, in 1725, become the firmest and most systematic of allies. Surely, of all men we might have least expected these two, having been once foes, to have coalesced. There was the opposition, not of contradiction, between them, but of relation and emulation. With wit and eloquence at will, with a want of steadiness in politics, which, in the one, originated from a defect in strength of will; in the other, from too absorbing and constant a contemplation of distinction as the sole end of life, there was in each an overruling vanity, taking the form in the one of a determination to give the tone to every measure, and to society at large; in the other, not to submit to dictation; a similarity which was just as likely to keep them apart as were their other qualities to draw them together. Resentment against Walpole, to whose character theirs were equally a contrast, was the bond of union between the two; and which, as long as that was the general impelling motive of the policy of opposition, kept them united. The presence of

Bolingbroke in the contest is the most interesting feature in it. There was a self-reliance and unscrupulous originality and individuality in him, which startles us, when in contact with the weak nervelessness of his fellow-workers, even of their leader, men who made dislike of an individual the clue to guide them through the mazes of opposition to measures, which did not of themselves appeal to any sentiment in their souls of attraction or repulsion. We cannot help thinking, that men like Sandys and Barnard, Dodington and Lyttelton, were made into politicians by the minister. Even Pulteney himself might have been secretary of state, or even premier in other circumstances, but would never, had he at once triumphed over his rival, become 'the great commoner!' S. John must ever have been a marked and famous man at any period of our history. Probably he would have run a career analogous, though, it may be, a less historical and more peaceful one, to that which the anarchy of Queen Anne's reign opened out to him. He flits, like a dark shade, over the annals of the first two Georges' reigns, like a ghost behind the arras, with a tale to tell of the crimes and memories of a bygone period descended as an inheritance to the present, and which dare not confront the open light of day. With an outward semblance of conformity to the established constitution, he prompted measures inimical to it, yet not favourable to the restoration of the old order. He acted as a licensed conspirator, assailing the minister with strokes that fell with equal effect upon the king whom that statesman served. In a settled time he recalled that strange epoch when everything was in a state of change, and every scheme seemed to stand on a like footing of propriety and plausibility, from an absolute monarchy down to a republic.

The junction of S. John with opposition, while it terrified Walpole, furnished him with a whole armoury of weapons against his adversary. It was charged that Pulteney, the most vehement member of the committee which condemned the Peace of Utrecht, had coalesced with the author of that peace; that a Whig, he called for the blood of the champion of the Act of Settlement; that 'ambitious and aspiring, impatient and irresolute, unable to bear a superiority, conceiving unjust jealousies and discontents, full of himself and his own extraordinary merit, and determined to hold the highest offices in the state, and to censure and confound all the measures of the government under any other administration, he had at length renounced at once all former friendships and principles, vowing the destruction of those who had distinguished him by a peculiar regard, betraying private correspondences, and endeavouring to distress that prince to whom he owed the highest obligation' (Dedication to

the Patrons of the Craftsman of Sedition and Defamation displayed). Pulteney fiercely rejoined, that ‘a certain closet is ‘the only place in the kingdom where such assertions can gain ‘belief, or where the gentleman traduced can be thought a ‘Jacobite, even for half an hour’ (*Answer to One Part of an Infamous Libel*). ‘That he voted with Tories,’ he argued, ‘was no proof that he had gone over to them rather than they ‘to him.’ He worked in harmony with S. John, because, enmity to the great traitor against the liberties of England, was a more powerful motive than the memories of old hostility, not that he repented of his measures then. One same principle implied the condemnation of the treaties of Utrecht and Seville. At least, Bolingbroke had never been equal in guilt to Walpole. ‘If the ministers of that time did many things ill, have not you, ‘sir, done things ten times worse?’ The day of *his* power was, at all events, free from the infamy of unlimited votes of credit, profusion of presents, and secret-service money. And then, to compare these two men in point of capacity; what ‘*a pedlar in politics*’ was the one by the side of the other! But accusations on the score of desertion of old pledges were out of date. The age of parties was past, or revived as a matter of speculation only, by selfish placemen who gauge Whig and Tory principles by the standard of co-operation with, or opposition to government. Now, ‘God be praised, the senseless distinction is almost ‘sunk in general concern for the national interest.’ In the ‘Craftsman,’ Bolingbroke advocated, with a deliberate eloquence never before equalled in the annals of English pamphleteering, the downfall of party. It was the only point of view in which the composition and conduct of opposition could be vindicated from the charge of mere personal pique, or shameless covetousness of the spoils of government. It was the only policy by which its leaders could reconcile to the kingdom at large, or their own consciences (for at least the Whig leader had a conscience), private with national objects. The thought had been long brooding and smouldering in the breasts of the people. S. John gave it a voice and a form. To this great party leader, to the man who was never aught but a partisan, and whose measures, in power as well as in opposition, were carried always by way of conspiracy, we owe the first steps towards the annihilation of the policy which made the constitution favoured by the majority a tyranny for the minority, and towards the development of the principles of the Revolution of 1689 into the national theory, and of the dynasty brought in by the Act of Settlement into the house of the nation’s choice. Though excluded from Parliament, the natural sphere for his eloquence, publicly denounced as a traitor by the minister, and suspected, not on the whole unjustly, as

one by the party which he prompted, and the nation which accepted his views, he was yet never without fitting audience. From Wyndham's lips the Commons admired the sentiments conceived in S. John's mind, and every provincial politician could rehearse the arguments of *Caleb d'Anvers* and *Mr. Oldcastle*.

It is not difficult, even independently of external evidence, to distinguish the contributions of Pulteney and Bolingbroke, respectively, to their mighty party-organ. The same virulence against the tyrant premier marks both; but while in the elder statesman's invectives is discoverable a solid substratum of constitutional and theoretical opposition, his companion supplies the place of this by a more personal envy or jealousy, and perhaps a sort of renegade-like remorsefulness. Against S. John had been brandished, in no equivocal language, the menace of Westminster Hall or Tower Hill, and he retorted by a glowing appeal to the nation against prejudgment, for so he interpreted it, by a faction. Pulteney's wrath and *patriotism* were interpreted as the growth of malice, disappointed ambition, and all the littleness of spite. By Sir William Younge he was denounced as a brother conspirator with 'those infamous re-tailers of lies, scandal, sedition and treason, and as a copartner with hireling authors of Billingsgate, who applaud the Dutch 'precedent of De Wittig, a political foe. But he must know 'that a man is not a patriot because he desires another revolution, nor fancy that the strutting and swelling Wat Tylers and Jack Straws of our days resemble the Northumberlands and Warwicks of old, or like them can make and unmake kings.' The retort was analogous to the attack. The great leader of the parliamentary opposition, unlike the statesman of Queen Anne's reign, appealed to no profound theory. He replied by a string of innuendoes and insinuations, most of which could not have been intelligible beyond the purlieus of Piccadilly. Lord Francis Hervey had been erroneously pointed out as the author, and him, accordingly, Pulteney proceeded to load with the most unmitigated abuse. 'The little quaint antitheses,' writes the pseudo D'Anvers, 'the great variety of rhetorical flourishes, 'affected metaphors, and puerile witticisms in this political nose-'gay,' had at first made him ascribe it to some precocious Etonian, then to a boarding-school Miss, till at length he was, in great confidence, told that it was by 'that circulator of tittle-tattle, 'and bearer of tales, and teller of fibs, that stationed spy, pretty 'Mr. Fairlove.' While opining, 'that the toil of forty pages, 'even of such stuff, must have been almost too great for the 'dapper little author's delicate brain,' and recommending in future a fan instead of a pen, he makes a fierce onslaught upon his patron. 'A person,' he bursts forth, 'of tolerable second-

'rate parts, below a genius, above the vulgar, of industry inferior
'to few, of impudence superior to most men, with a low educa-
'tion, mean habits, and a narrow fortune ; an adventurer never
'caressed by the greatest general or the greatest statesman of
'their time ; buoyed up by the stream of party, and a series of
'lucky accidents, this child of fortune rises to the first post of
'government, with talents scarce equal to the tenth, and morals
'unworthy of the lowest. . . . He never gained either man or
'woman but as he paid for them. . . . Giddy with power, base
'to those who assisted him in his distress (*i.e.* Pulteney himself),
'ungrateful to those who were the instruments of his advance-
'ment (*i.e.* Stanhope, Sunderland, and Townshend), and trea-
'cherous to those who preserved him from disgrace, he endea-
'vours to divert the general hatred of the people from himself
'by putting his master upon measures which naturally tend to
'alienate their affections.'

What should we think of a leading statesman who should in this age indite a composition so libellous, so insolent? The taste of that period did not condemn the style, nor even think it misbecoming the character of a prime minister himself. A pamphlet entitled 'Remarks on the Craftsman's Vindication of his two honourable Patrons,' was popularly given out for the work of Walpole's own pen, spite of, or perhaps in consequence of, its going the length of denouncing his rival as 'a turn-coat, and tool of veteran Jacobites.' He was there represented as 'a sophist, who would prove that his sovereign, by his natural affection for Hanover, had violated the Act of Settlement, and thereby broken the solitary link by which his house held their crown.' He was reproached in the same document with blind inconsistency, in now inveighing against the negotiators of those treaties as traitors, to which he had himself, when in office, been a consenting party, and against a systematic corruption by which he had once not disdained to profit. It may well be imagined that Pulteney, with his views of the rights of controversy and particular talent for abuse, was nothing loth to accept the popular account of the authorship of the paper. Taking this point for certain, he at once assumes, in his 'Answer to One Part of an Infamous Libel,' that he has convinced the minister of a breach of confidence, on the ground of the divulging of certain unpalatable facts contained in the work in question, and to which he imagined no one privy but themselves. He thence, with that dangerous incapacity to pass by a good opening for an attack, which in some measure justified Horace Walpole's sneers at 'Lord Bath's treachery,' and the more modern censure of Lord Stanhope, that 'he sometimes attempted to prove that he could keep new secrets by revealing old ones,' he

took occasion to thrust open the floodgates of political confidences. 'Now that they were upon the heads of secret history, which Walpole had opened,' was the time for putting the public right as to the reconciliation between the late and the present monarch, which had inaugurated the quarrel between the two statesmen. As in that transaction, he attempted to show, Walpole had only learned to honour the present king when he could be advanced by him, so he still confounded servility to the minister with loyalty to the sovereign, and the profusion of the public treasure on himself and his family, even down to his menials, with public munificence. Pulteney, the pamphlet continued, had been upbraided with inconsistency in reviling the man now, whom he had formerly loved. But had he ever loved or respected Walpole? 'Do you think, most noble sir, that all those that played at "nine-pins with you in the Tower, had for that reason regard for "you on account of your personal integrity?' As it was in defence of sacred principles that he then sympathised with him, so now he would accept the help, in aid of his country, of men, whether Whigs or Tories, not in aid of factiousness or intrigue, as the other did, 'when a *country gentleman*, nay, as he does now.' He had on the same principle condemned the treaty of Utrecht, brought about by his present colleague Bolingbroke, and the treaty of Seville, the work of his ancient colleague Walpole. 'You, sir, have been an intemperate zealot against France, a most obsequious dupe to France, and seem to be now "relapsing into your old aversion to the same.' He (Pulteney) had not participated in the making of those treaties which he now condemned, though nominally a party to them. He had neither countenanced nor shared the '*dirty job*', by which the premier, having got himself, for form's sake, constituted, in addition to his regular office, a secretary of state, on the absence abroad of the two acting ones, claimed the salary, even the plate of a secretary of state, nay, even the secret-service money, though with no possible secret missions to defray. It had been said that, if he (Pulteney) could, through a secretary of the Treasury (Guy, whose heir he was), derive £9,000 a-year, and that through the intervention of the man he now sought to destroy, could the actual head of that Treasury be grudged his hard earnings? 'Impudent and silly falsehoods these!' £50,000 in all was the sum of Guy's bequest. By that economy (not scraping avarice) necessary to keep a man independent of the smiles and favours of a court, he had made it, with the addition of his paternal and his wife's inheritance, into the fortune he now possessed, a fortune which raised him above the suspicion that his wrath arose from disappointment at the loss of an office how-

ever lucrative. Could Walpole, he exclaimed, a man who at one time could not have raised £100 upon his personal security, account for his estate and expenditure in the same way, for that profuseness, miscalled generosity, to spies, and 'the scribblers of 'the atheistical stuff, and vile political magazines, propagated by 'him at the public expense,' and for which he was accountable in a much stricter sense than was Pulteney for the 'Craftsman.' 'Lord, sir, if an inquiry was to be made into your estate, what 'a scene of iniquity would be disclosed.' How much would be traced to the Treasury, how much to 'Change Alley !' What jobs we should discover it took to build the new house, how many manors were bought by the sale of so many peerages and garters, places, pensions, pardons ! In the list would be secret-service money, many exchequer bills, debentures, and public securities, 'from the infamous Bank contract down to the last 'bargain you made with the East India Company !' 'But one 'other establishment had ever been scraped together by such 'means, his whom you last saved from the gallows, from 'sympathy.' Well, 'that pedlar in politics' might go on misapplying the public treasure, and prostituting his royal master's name in his own dirty service, still the time of vengeance would come. He had already, doubtless, often seen his opponent (Pulteney), in his dreams, armed with axes and halters ; he had, doubtless, often felt 'the same terror which, on the revelations of 'a penny-post letter, made him hurry, pale and trembling, to 'secure that gentleman's protection, as his neighbour, from in-'cendiaries.'—From disclosures affecting the private reputation of his family he was safe through his antagonist's honour. From menaces of illegal personal violence he was also secure. 'But 'let him know that the first condition in any treaty with his 'majesty's opposition, must be to deliver up the guilty minister 'to the justice of his country.'

Such was the spirit in which this famous conflict was carried on ; such was the chivalry of men who pretended they fought only for liberty and national aggrandizement, while the goal of each one of them was a fancy picture either of a rival on the gibbet, or himself in a blue riband.

Walpole had, almost voluntarily, brought the fury and wrath of these men upon himself. He had despised them too much to guard against their arguments. Beside this, he was himself by no means guiltless as a statesman, by no means an innocent martyr to popular prejudices. There was in this mighty minister a narrow partisanship which converted the general Anti-Whig prejudices of the Tories (by which term we do not mean to signify the adherents of the exiled house) into an inveterate personal hatred. In the same way he disgusted a

large section even of the Whig party in the nation at large by a bigoted and superstitious adherence to the few maxims embodied in the Revolution of 1689, and to those exclusively. It was, indeed, the original and radical defect of his organization that a temporary state of things was looked upon by him as the regular and permanent system. He could never emancipate himself from the ideas of the tempestuous epoch when he had himself entered public life. He could not help believing that the nation still abnegated the functions challenged for it by the Bill of Rights, and Act of Settlement, of thinking for itself, and choosing its own legislators and administrations. Thus attending only to the feeling of the sovereign and of parliament, making them his infallible gauging rod and test of public opinion, he at length fell into the fatal error of fancying, that to persuade them, was the one only duty of a minister, and that, by whatever means. Thus, again, not endeavouring to guide the parliament by external and public opinion, but making its consent or opposition his only measure of popularity, he glided naturally, as ministers have often done, into disbelief in the superiority of one member of that assembly over another, into an arithmetical computation, in short, of men's powers by the votes they could command. Finally, he miscalculated as well the impenetrability to the allurements of office of *patriots* loaded with popular favour, as the energy and perceptions of the people at large. He ascribed too little force to the length of time during which the passions of the last century had been suffered to cool down without a single real menace to rouse them against the Tories and the allies of Tories, and to the weariness induced by the duration of his own rule, unvaried by any danger to make the Whigs themselves appreciate and feel the necessity of his judgment and foresight. At the same time he did not allow enough for the continuity of impulse and the shame of deserting a popular cause which a career of resistance under the guise of patriotism to his absolute supremacy so prodigally supplied.

But if Walpole had, in his most arduous position, failed from a misconception of the times, and circumstances, and his own position, what did his opponents, with their great opportunities, achieve? Walpole was their mark. As long as he was in, their principles and their tactics were always the same. Corruption in parliament, and without; the treaty with Hanover, and the confederacy with France, had been the key-stones of Walpole's policy in the reign of George I. They were so in the reign of George II. We seek in vain, in the conduct of his rivals, the development of any great principle in opposition to those objects. The destruction, indeed, of worn-out party-badges, even though

they were to give way to others, that result, in fact, which the French Revolution, acting upon the Whig antecedents of Burke, helped to consummate, was a noble aim. Even though we knew that their conversion to that principle had been the effect of self-interest, we should still have had reason for gratitude to the body of men who worked for that change. Unhappily, there is no fragment of evidence in proof that this, though the cry, was a guiding principle of the measures of this opposition. It is difficult to see, in their systematic resistance to the administration, any clearer manifestation of an absence of the spirit of party than in the conduct of ministers themselves. From either side came the constant reproach of dereliction of their old standard. An alliance with France against the empire (one of Walpole's pet plans) was not more opposed to the traditions of the Revolution than was Pulteney's co-operation with Bolingbroke and the Tories in endeavouring the repeal of the Septennial Bill, which was appealed to as evincing an enlightened readiness to reconsider former conclusions, and to coalesce with old adversaries. In fact, declamations against the evils of party are always equivocal, when proceeding from men, all of whom, without consideration of their special camps, have a decided interest in ejecting those already in possession of power. It is a profession so easy to make, and so hard to disprove, when there exists a multitude of common topics of hostility to those in, and is of such manifest expediency for those out. The points on which any two bodies of disappointed politicians disagree with a third are so many as to make their junction the easiest thing in the world. It is when the battle is won that the time has come for testing the truth of their professions of unanimity. If, then, the leaders of either party unite, on an equal footing, in forming a government; nor that alone; but if also, without taking refuge in the neutrality of a multitude of open questions, they think out and pursue a common positive policy, we have a right, and it is our duty to give them credit for having set out originally in good faith and honesty of purpose. Judging the great opposition by this test, it fails deplorably.

One positive end, and one only, it effected, and that was the elevating the Duke of Newcastle into the guiding spirit of a nation.

ART. II.—1. Ἐπιστολαὶ περὶ τῶν Ἱερῶν Ἀκολουθίων τῆς Ἀνατολικῆς Ὁρθοδόξου Ἑκκλησίας, συγγραφεῖσαι μὲν Ῥωσσιστὶ, καὶ τὸ πέμπτον ἥδη ἐκδοθεῖσαι τῷ 1844 ἔτει ἐν Πετρουπόλει· μετενεχθεῖσαι δὲ εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν διάλεκτον ὑπὸ Θεοδώρου Βαλλιάνου, συνταγματάρχου τοῦ Μηχανικοῦ τῆς Ἑλλάδος. Ἀθηνῶν· ἐκ τοῦ Τυπογραφείου Χ. Ν. Φιλαδελφέως. Παρὰ τῇ Πύλῃ τῆς Ἀγορᾶς, ἀριθ. 420.

Letters on the Holy Rites of the Eastern Orthodox Church, written in Russ, and published in a fifth edition, at S. Petersburg, 1844: now translated into our language by Theodore Ballianus, Major in the Hellenic Engineers. Athens: Ch. N. Philadelpheus, by the Gate of the Agora, 420.

2. *Slovo Katholicheskago Pravoslaviia Remskomou Katolichestvovo.* Moskva: v' Tipographie V. Gothe. 1857.

A Word from Catholic Orthodoxy to Roman Catholicism. Moscow: Gothe. 1857.

3. *O Razlichie Oucheniiia Protestantskago ot' istin' Pravoslaviia.* Moskva: v' Tipographie V. Gothe. 1857.

The distinction of Protestant Teaching from real Orthodoxy. Moscow, &c.

4. *Beiträge zur näheren Kenntniss der Glaubenslehre der Orthodox-Katholischen Kirche, in Uebersetzungen und Auszügen vorzüglich aus Russischen und Slawischen Schriften.* Nos. 1—7. S. Petersburg.

Introduction to a more intimate acquaintance with the teaching of the Orthodox Catholic Church: chiefly in Translations and Specimens from the Russ and Slavonic. S. Petersburg.

5. *Pamiatnik Trudov pravoslavnich Blagoviestniekov Russkich s' 1793 do 1853 Goda.* Moskva. 1857.

Letters of Russian Missionaries, 1793 to 1853. Moscow. 1857.

6. *The Orthodox Companion: edited by the Spiritual Academy of Kazan.* Kazan. 1858.

7. *The Divine Liturgy of S. John Chrysostom, translated into the Tatar language.* Kazan. 1858.

8. *Documents connected with the Present State and Missions of the Eastern Church.* Translated, with Notes, by the Rev. J. M. NEALE, M.A. London: Masters. 1859.

9. *A Selection of the Hymns of the Eastern Church: including the best Canons and other Poems of S. John Damascene, S. Cosmas the Melodist, S. Theophanes, S. Joseph and S. Theodore of the Studium, S. Andrew of Crete, S. Stephen the Sabaeite, Metaphanes of Smyrna.* Edited, with copious Notes and Explanations, by the Rev. J. M. NEALE, M.A. Warden of Sackville College. London: Hayes. 1859.

THE Eastern Church is certainly exerting herself to make known her position to, and to enforce her claims on, Western Europe. Struggling against the disadvantages of employing languages which to general scholars are almost a dead letter, her sons are writing and translating in French, in German, and even in English. Witness the version of Plato's Catechism, which appeared some time since at Liverpool.

We may justly pride ourselves that the *Christian Remembrancer* has never been behindhand in noticing Oriental works; and the list which heads this article would afford us several most interesting subjects of discussion. The late M. de Stourdza's work on Russian Missions (it stands fifth on our list) opens to us the various attempts to evangelize southern Siberia and Tartary, interesting as a fair endeavour on the part of the Church to grapple with a nomad population. So does the Tatar translation of the Liturgy, recently published by the labours of the Spiritual Academy of Kazan. The 'Address of Catholic Orthodoxy to Western Catholicism,' translated in Mr. Neale's 'Eastern Documents,' would lead us to the battle-field between those two great Churches. But we propose rather to dwell on the first volume, which may be described as a *Handbook of Eastern Ritual*. The original letters of M. Mouravieff attracted, on their first publication, great attention in Russia, and have found a very competent translator in Theodore Ballianus, an old officer of the war of independence, a major in the Hellenic Engineers; or, to give him his more euphonious title, a συνταγματάρχης τοῦ Μηχανικοῦ τῆς Ἐλλάδος. Nothing is more curious, in these modern Greek books, than the list of subscribers (*συνδρομηταῖ*) for copies (*σώματα*). Here, the Athenian quota is headed by the Holy Synod, the Metropolitans of Athens, Cynuria, Damali, Locris; then the Archimandrite Misael Apostolides. Then we have a ταγματάρχης τοῦ Πυροβολικοῦ—a Colonel in the Artillery; then, again, we are in the cells of the 'Holy Mountain'; while 'The Venerable Metropolitan of Libya, Callistratus,' comes in strangely at Bucharest. The official appellation of a priest is inserted between his Christian and surname—Ιωάννης Ἰερέως Σταθόπουλος.

The subject on which we shall take occasion to dwell from

M. Mouravieff's book, is one which has hitherto received no attention in England,—we mean Greek Hymnology. Some years since Dr. Daniel,—or rather Reinhold Vormbaum, under his auspices,—published a very small collection of Greek hymns. With that one exception, and a still feebler attempt of Ranke, nothing has been done to illustrate them: for the work of Rambach hardly deserves a notice.¹

We must remember that whereas hymnology forms but a very small part of the offices of any Western Church, it is the staple of those of the Eastern. Fourteen or fifteen quarto volumes, as we shall directly see, present scarcely anything else but hymns, in various forms, and under differing names. To these everything else gives way; and this is what makes the *Menea*, the *Pentecostarion*, the *Triodion*, so bulky. Again, Greek Hymnology had ceased to flourish before that of the Western Church began. We are carried up for its study into the sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries; after this there are no great names. And, enthusiastic admirers as we are of Latin Hymnology, we are not afraid to say that that of Greece may contend against it at least on an equality. Cosmas of Maiuma may oppose Adam of S. Victor; John Damascene need fear no comparison with Notker; Andrew of Crete has poems as sweet as S. Bernard; Theophanes and Theodore of the Studium are in no wise inferior to the best of Sequence writers of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

In entering on this as a subject altogether untouched (we mean abroad as well as in England), except so far as it is very briefly discussed by Mr. Neale, in his 'Introduction to the History of the Holy Eastern Church,' we shall divide it into five heads:—

1. The Epochs of Greek Ecclesiastical Poetry.
2. Its principal authors.
3. The books in which it exists.
4. The theory of its metres.
5. Specimens of its character.

We may as well say at once, that if we have any fair readers, they had better skip over the first four heads, which will be rather 'stiff' reading; but we will try to make up to them by the last.

Like that of the Latin Church, Greek Ecclesiastical Poetry may be divided into three epochs:—

- I. That of formation: while it was slowly throwing off

¹ Vormbaum's book is only a small octavo of 138 pages. It cannot be commended as correct. For example: under the head John Damascene, are inserted three very long iambic poems, attributed to John Arkas, and utterly unworthy of the name they are made to bear by their editor.

classical metres, and inventing and adopting its peculiar style. And this may be said to end about the year 650.

2. The era of perfection : which nearly, as we shall see, coincides with that of the Iconoclastic controversy.

3. That of slow decadence, beginning with Joseph of the Studium, about 830, and lingering on to the fall of Constantinople.

The first epoch, however beautiful are the odes which it has left us, has impressed, as we shall see, scarcely any traces on the Greek Office-books. Passing by the singular ode attributed to S. Clement of Alexandria, S. Gregory Nazianzen comes first in our list ; and his hymns, all written in classical metres, are, some of them, exceedingly beautiful. Deriving his inspiration from that great doctor of the Church, S. Sophronius of Jerusalem, in the seventh century, attained high reputation as a lyric bard. He scarcely ever employed any but the Anacreontic metre, and his sweetness and facility in that are quite remarkable. Take, as an example, the opening of his Ode on the Presentation of our Lord in the Temple :—

'Απὸ Βηθλεέμ παρίδιθω	Γενέτη γάρ ἐστιν ἵσος
Μεγάλη Παρθένου τεκούσης	Θεός ἐκ Θεοῦ παλάμας·
Βρέφος ἀγκάλαις φερούσης	"Ισος αὐτὸν πάλιν τεκούση
Κλυτὸν ἐς δόμον Θεοῖο.	Βροτὸς ἐς βροτοῦ γὰρ ὄφθη.
Βαθύτον κόμικε Δουκᾶ,	Διὸς σύνθετον καλίσσω
Κιβάρην φέρε Προφῆτα,	Τὸν ἀσυγχώτων φανέντα,
"Ινα νῦν τεχθέντι Χριστῷ	Δύο γὰρ φύσεις τελεῖσας
Διδυνὶς μέλος προσάρξω.	Μετὰ σύνθετων δοκεῖν.

Very pretty verses, but not the stuff of which the ordinary hymns of the Church are made. They may be read with pleasure, they may commend themselves to men of taste ; but to be the heart-utterance of nature,—to go with the multitude, and give them voice in the house of God,—never ! We may notice the occasional failure of the metre ; whether arbitrarily, as in vv. 6 and 7, or on the principle of the accent, in v. 10.

S. Sophronius left no followers ; but a new school was springing up, which was ultimately to draw into itself all the treasures of Eastern Hymnography.

The first poet of the new era, who emancipated himself from the tyranny of old laws (hence to be compared to Fortunatus in the West), and boldly struck out the new path,—harmonious prose,—was S. Anatolius of Constantinople. His commencements were not promising. He had been *apocrisiarius*—or legate—from the arch-heretic Dioscorus in the Emperor's court ; and on the death of S. Flavian by the violence of the *Latrocinium* of Ephesus, he was, by the influence of his pontiff, raised to the OEcumenical throne. He soon, however, vindicated his

orthodoxy; and he procured the enactment of the famous XXVIIth Canon of Chalcedon, by which, in spite of Rome, Constantinople was raised to the second place. Having sat eight years in peace, he departed this life in A. D. 458.

The second period of Greek Hymnology is very nearly, as we said, coincident with the Iconoclastic controversy. Its first writers, indeed, died shortly after the commencement of that stormy age, and took no share in its Councils nor sufferings; while the last hymnographer who bore a part in its proceedings, S. Joseph of the Studium, belongs to the decline of his art. With these two exceptions, the ecclesiastical poets of this period were not only thrown into the midst of that great struggle, but, with scarcely one exception, took an active share in it.

A few words on that conflict of one hundred and sixteen years are absolutely necessary, if we would understand the progress and full development of Greek Hymnography. No controversy has been more grossly misapprehended; none, without the key of subsequent events, could have been so difficult to appreciate. Till Calvinism, and its daughter Rationalism, showed the ultimate development of Iconoclast principles, it must have been well-nigh impossible to realize the depth of feeling on the side of the Church, or the greatness of the interests attacked by her opponents. We may perhaps doubt whether even the saints of that day fully understood the character of the battle; whether they did not give up ease, honour, possessions, life itself, rather from an intuitive perception that their cause was the cause of the Catholic faith, than from a logical induction of the results to which the Image-destroyers were tending. Just so, in the early part of the Nestorian controversy, many and many a simple soul felt intuitively that the title of the *Theotocos* was to be defended, without seeing the full consequences to which its denial would subsequently lead. The supporters of Icons, by universal consent, numbered amongst their ranks all that was pious and venerable in the Eastern Church. The Iconoclasts seem to have been the legitimate development of that secret creeping Manichæism, which, under the various names of Turlupins, Bogomili, or Good-men, so long devastated Christ's fold.

We must keep the land-marks of the controversy in sight. Commenced by Leo the Isaurian, in A. D. 726, the persecution was carried on by his despicable son, Constantine Copronymus, who also endeavoured to destroy monasticism. The great Council of Constantinople, attended by 338 prelates, in 752, which rejected the use of images, was the culminating success of the Iconoclasts. Lulling at the death of Constantine, the perse-

cution again broke out in the latter years of his successor Leo, and was only terminated by the death of that prince, and the succession of Constantine and Irene. The Second Council of Nicaea, seventh Ecumenical (A. D. 787), attended by 377 Bishops, seemed to end the heresy ; but it again broke out under the Iconoclast Emperor, Leo the Armenian (813), and after having been carried on under the usurper Michael, and his son Theophilus, ended with the death of the latter in 842. In the Hymnographers of this epoch, it may be noticed that the Second Council of Nicaea forms the culminating point of ecclesiastical poetry. Up to that date, there is a vigour and freshness which the twenty-eight years of peace succeeding the Council corrupted, and that rapidly, with the fashionable language of an effete court, and deluged with Byzantine bombast.

S. Andrew of Crete was born in Damascus, about the year 660, and embraced the monastic life at Jerusalem, from which city he sometimes takes his name. Hence he was sent on ecclesiastical business to Constantinople, where he became a Deacon of the Great Church and Warden of the Orphanage. His first entrance on public life does no credit to his sanctity. During the reign of Philippicus Bardanes (711—714) he was raised by that usurper to the archiepiscopate of Crete, and shortly afterwards was one of the pseudo-Synod of Constantinople, held under the Emperor's auspices in 712, and which condemned the Sixth Ecumenical Council, and restored the Monothelite heresy. At a later period, however, he returned to the faith of the Church, and expressly refuted the error into which he had fallen. Seventeen of his homilies, rather laboured than eloquent, remain to us ; that in which he rises highest is, not unnaturally, his sermon on S. Titus, the Apostle of Crete. He died in the island of Hierissus, near Mitylene, about the year 732.

As a poet, his most ambitious composition is the Great Canon, which, partially used during other days of Lent, is sung right through on the Thursday of Mid-Lent Week, called, indeed, from that composition. His Triodia in Holy Week, and his Canons on Mid-Pentecost, are fine : but it is in his short spirited *Idiomela* that he principally excels.

S. Germanus of Constantinople was born in that city about 634. His father, Justinian, a patrician, had the ill fortune to excite the jealousy of the Emperor Constantine Pogonatus, who put him to death, and obliged Germanus himself to be enrolled among the clergy of the Great Church. Here he became distinguished for piety and learning, and, in process of time, was chosen Bishop of Cyzicus. In this capacity he assisted, with S. Andrew of Crete, in the several Councils which I have just mentioned ;

and no doubt he was the more favourably disposed to Monothelism, from having been so deeply wronged by its great opponent, Pogonatus. He, however, like Andrew at a later period, expressly condemned that heresy. Translated to the throne of Constantinople in 715, he governed his patriarchate in tranquillity till the outbreak of Leo the Isaurian against Icons, and then his letters in opposition to the innovation were the first warnings of the impending danger which the Church received. Refusing to sign the decrees of the Synod convoked by the Emperor in 730, and stripping off his garments, with the words, ‘It is impossible for me, Sire, to innovate without an Ecumenical Council,’ he was driven from his see, not, it is said, without blows, and retired to his house at Platonias, where he led a private life. He died shortly afterwards, aged about a hundred years, and is regarded by the Greeks as one of their most glorious confessors. The poetical compositions of S. Germanus are few. He has stanzas on S. Symeon Stylites, on the Prophet Elias, and the Decollation of S. John Baptist. His best composition is perhaps his Canon on the Wonder-working Icon of Edessa.

S. John Damascene has the double honour of being the last but one of the Fathers of the Eastern Church and the greatest of her poets. It is surprising, however, how little is known of his life. That he was born of a good family at Damascus,—that he made great progress in philosophy,—that he administered some charge under the Caliph,—that he retired to the monastery of S. Sabas, in Palestine,—that he was the most learned and eloquent writer with whom the Iconoclasts had to contend,—that at a comparatively late period of life he was ordained Priest of the Church of Jerusalem, and that he died after 754, and before 787, seems to comprise all that has reached us of his biography. His enemies, from an unknown reason, called him *Mansur*; whether he were the same with John Arklas, also an ecclesiastical poet, is not so certain.

As a poet, he had a principal share in the *Octoechus*, of which we shall presently speak. His three great Canons are those on Easter, the Transfiguration, and the Ascension: of the first of which a translation appeared no long time since in *The Christian Remembrancer*. Probably many of the Idiomela and Stichera, scattered about the Office-books under the name of *John*, may be his also. His eloquent defence of images has deservedly procured him the title of *The Doctor of Christian Art*.

S. Cosmas of Jerusalem holds the second place among Greek ecclesiastical poets, and is known as *The Melodist*. Left an orphan at an early age, he was adopted by the father of S. John Damascene; and the two foster-brothers were bound

together by a friendship which lasted through life. They excited each other to Hymnography, and assisted, corrected, and polished each other's compositions. Cosmas, like his friend, became a monk of S. Sabas, and, against his will, was consecrated Bishop of Maiuma, near Gaza, by John, Patriarch of Jerusalem, the same who ordained S. John Damascene priest. After administering his diocese with great holiness, he died in a good old age about A.D. 760, and is commemorated by the Eastern Church on the 14th of October.

Where perfect sweetness dwells, is Cosmas gone;
But his sweet lays to cheer the Church live on,—

says the Stichos prefixed to his life. His compositions are tolerably numerous; and he seems to have taken a pleasure in competing with John Damascene, as on the Epiphany, the Transfiguration, and the Nativity, where the Canons of both the one and the other poet are given in the Office-books. To Cosmas a considerable portion of the Octoechus is owing. The best of his other compositions, besides those we have mentioned, seem to be his Canons on S. Gregory Nazianzen, the Assumption, and the Purification. He is the most learned of the Greek poets; and his fondness for types, boldness in their application, and love of aggregating them, make him the Eastern Adam of Saint Victor. It is owing partly to a fulness of meaning, very uncommon in Greek poetry, partly to the unusual harshness and contortion of his phrases, that he is the hardest of ecclesiastical bards to comprehend.

S. Stephen the Sabaite, so called from the monastery of S. Sabas, was the nephew of S. John Damascene, who placed him in that house. He was then ten years of age, having been born in A.D. 725, and he passed his life in that celebrated retreat, dying there in 794. He was thus the first of the hymnographers who lived to see the restoration of Icons. He has left but few poetical compositions. His two best are those on the Martyrs of the Monastery of S. Sabas (March 20), on which a monk of that house would be likely to write *con amore*, and on the Circumcision. His style seems formed on the model of S. Cosmas rather than on that of his own uncle. He is not deficient in elegance and richness of typology, but exhibits a good deal of sameness, and has some very harsh metaphors, as where he speaks of 'the circumcision of the tempest of our sins.' He is commemorated on the 13th of July.

S. Tarasius, raised by Constantine and Irene from the post of secretary of state, though a layman, at one step to the patriarchate of Constantinople (784), was the prime mover in the

restoration of Icons and the Second Council of Nicæa. Strongly opposing the divorce of Constantine from Maria, he refused to celebrate the Emperor's nuptials with Theodota. But when they had been performed, he was with some difficulty persuaded to pardon the priest who had officiated at them. On this S. Plato and the monks of the all-influential Studium forsook his communion ; nor was the schism composed till the Patriarch yielded and retracted his pardon. He died Feb. 25, A. D. 806, on which day he is commemorated both by the East and West. His hymns are unimportant. The longest is the Canon on the Invocation of S. John Baptist, May 25. It is in no wise remarkable.

S. Theophanes, who holds the third place among Greek poets, was born in 759, his father being governor of the Archipelago. Betrothed in childhood to a lady named Megalis, he persuaded her, on their wedding-day, to embrace the monastic life. He retired to the monastery of Syngriana, in the early part of the reign of Constantine and Irene. From the fiftieth year of his age he was nearly bedridden ; but his devotion to the cause of Icons marked him out as one of the earliest victims of Leo the Armenian, who, after imprisoning him for two years, banished him to Samothrace. On the third day after his arrival in that inhospitable region, worn out with sufferings and sickness, he departed this life A. D. 818. He is chiefly famous for his History, with which we have now nothing to do. With the one exception of S. Joseph of the Studium, Theophanes is the most prolific of Eastern Hymnographers ; and in his writings we first see that which has been the bane and ruin of later Greek poetry, the composition of hymns, not from the spontaneous effusion of the heart, but because they were wanted to fill up a gap in the Office-Book.

Because the great festivals and the chief saints of the Church had their Canon and their Stichera, therefore every martyr, every confessor, who happened to give his name to a day, must have his Canon and Stichera also, just for uniformity. How different the Latin use, where not even the apostles have separate hymns, received by the whole Church, but supply themselves from the *Common* ! Hence the deluge of worthless compositions that occur in the *Menea*: hence tautology, repeated till it becomes almost sickening ; the merest commonplace, again and again decked in the tawdry shreds of tragic language, and twenty or thirty times presenting the same thought in slightly varying terms. Theophanes, indeed, must be distinguished from the host of inferior writers that about his time began to overwhelm the Church. Many of his subjects are of world-wide interest. The Eastern martyrs whom he celebrates are

for the most part those who have won for themselves the greatest name in the annals of history. But still we find him thus honouring some, of whom all that can be said is, that they died for the sake of CHRIST. And though the poet brings more matter to his task than do others, many long stanzas, which keep pretty close to their subject, concerning a saint of whom there is nothing specific to say, must become tedious.

S. Theodore of the Studium, by his sufferings and his influence, did more, perhaps, for the sake of Icons than any other single man. His uncle, S. Plato, and himself, had been cruelly persecuted by Constantine for refusing to communicate with him after his illicit marriage with Theodota, at a time when, as we have seen, the firmness of even the Patriarch Tarasius gave way. Raised subsequently to be Hegumen of the great abbey of the Studium, the first at Constantinople, and probably the most influential that ever existed in the world, Theodore exhibited more doubtful conduct in the schism which arose regarding the readmission to communion of Joseph, the priest who had given the nuptial benediction to Constantine: but he suffered imprisonment on his account with the greatest firmness. When the Iconoclastic persecution again broke out, under Leo the Armenian, Theodore was one of the first sufferers: he was exiled, imprisoned, scourged, and left for dead. Under Michael Cuperpalata he enjoyed greater liberty; but he died in banishment, November 11, 826. His hymns are, in our judgment, very far superior to those of Theophanes, and nearly, if not quite, equal to the compositions of Cosmas. In those, comparatively few, which he has left for the Festivals of Saints, he does not rise much above the average: it is in his Lent Canons, in the Triodion, that his chief excellency lies. The contrast which is presented between the rigid, unbending, unyielding character of the man in his outward history, and the fervency of the penitence and love which his inward life, as revealed by these compositions, manifests, is most striking: it forms a remarkable parallel to the characters of S. Gregory VII., Innocent III., and other holy men in the Western Church, whom the world, judging from a superficial view of their actions, has branded with unbending haughtiness and the merest formality of religion, while their most secret writings show them to have been clinging to the Cross in an ecstasy of love and sorrow.

S. Methodius I., a native of Syracuse, embraced the monastic life at Constantinople. Sent as legate from Pope Paschal to the Emperor Michael the Stammerer, he was imprisoned by that prince in a close cell, on account of his resolute defence of Icons, and there he passed nine years. Having been scourged,

for the same cause, by the Emperor Theophilus, he made his escape from prison; and when peace was restored to the Church he was raised to the throne of Constantinople. His first care was to assemble a Synod for the restoration of Icons; and it is, properly speaking, *that* Synod which the Greeks celebrate on Orthodoxy Sunday. With this Council the Iconoclast troubles ceased. S. Methodius died November 4, 846. His compositions are very few, and are chiefly confined to Idiomela.

Naucratius, the favourite disciple of S. Theodore of the Studium, was probably the author of the very grand Canon on the re-erection of the Icons, which is sung on Orthodoxy Sunday, and which for its poetry, though certainly not for its spirit, may stand in the very first rank of Eastern hymns. The time of his birth and death is equally uncertain. Some MSS. Menaæ celebrate him as a saint on the 8th of June.

The *third period* of Greek Hymnology opens with its most voluminous writer, S. Joseph of the Studium. A Sicilian by birth, he left his native country on its occupation by the Mahometans in 830, and went to Thessalonica, where he embraced the monastic life. Thence he removed to Constantinople, but, in the second Iconoclastic persecution, he seems to have felt no vocation for confessordship, and went to Rome. Taken by pirates, he was for some years a slave in Crete, where he converted many to the faith; and having obtained his liberty, and returned to the Imperial City, he stood high in the favour, first of S. Ignatius, then of Photius, whom he accompanied into exile. On the death of that great man he was recalled, and gave himself up entirely to Hymnology. A legend, connected with his death, is sometimes represented on the walls of the churches in the Levant. A citizen of Constantinople betook himself to the church of S. Theodore in the hope of obtaining some benefit from the intercessions of that martyr. He waited three days in vain; then, just as he was about to leave the church in despair, S. Theodore appeared. ‘I,’ said the vision, ‘and the other saints, whom the poet Joseph has celebrated in his Canons, ‘have been attending his soul to Paradise: hence my absence ‘from my church.’ The Eastern Communion celebrates him on the 3d of April. But of the innumerable compositions of this most laborious writer it would be impossible to find one which, to Western taste, gives the least sanction to the position which he holds in the East. The insufferable tediousness consequent on the necessity of filling eight odes with the praises of a Saint of whom nothing, beyond the fact of his existence, is known, and doing this sixty or seventy different times,—the verbiage, the bombast, the trappings with which Scriptural simplicity is elevated to the taste of a corrupt court, are each and all scarcely to be

paralleled. He is by far the most prolific of hymnographers—the Watts of Greece.

Metrophanes of Smyrna, Bishop of that See towards the close of the ninth century, is principally famous for his Canons in honour of the Blessed Trinity, eight in number, one for each Tone. They are sung at Matins on Sundays; and, if the writer has not always been able to fuse his learning and orthodoxy into poetry, nor yet to escape the tautology of his coeval brother-bards, his compositions are stately and striking, and very far superior to anything left by Joseph. Metrophanes was a vigorous supporter of S. Ignatius, and the partisan of Rome in her contest with Photius. He died about A.D. 900.

Our next name is that of a royal poet. Leo VI. the Philosopher, who reigned from 886 to 917, left behind him the *Idiomela*, or detached stanzas, which are sung at Lauds. They are somewhat better than might have been expected from an Imperial author, and the troubler of the Eastern Church by a fourth marriage. The same thing may be said of the *Exapostilaria* of his son, Constantine Porphyrogenitus, whose life lasted till 959.

Euthymius, usually known as Syngelus (the same as Syncellus, the confidential Deacon of the Patriarch of Constantinople), died about 920. He is the author of a Penitential Canon to S. Mary, which is very highly esteemed in the East.

John Mauropus, Metropolitan of Euchaïta, flourished about 1054. He is sometimes considered the last of the Eastern Fathers. His hymns were printed at Eton in 1610; and, if not boasting much poetical fire, are at least graced with a gentle and Isocratean eloquence.

With this Metropolitan Greek hymnology well-nigh ceased; at least the only subsequent name which need be mentioned is that of Philotheus, Patriarch of Constantinople, who died in 1376. This man, the warm supporter of the dogma of the Uncreated Light, was the composer of several stanzas for Orthodoxy Sunday, and the Canon for July 16, on the Holy Fathers: both in the very worst taste.

Of Russian Hymnographers we need only mention three. S. Hilarion, born in the latter part of the tenth century, was a native of the village of Berestovo, the favourite residence of the great Prince Iaroslaff. He occasionally retreated to a small cavern on the banks of the Dnieper; and hence the Pechersky Laura, the most celebrated of the religious houses in Russia. The Metropolitical Chair of Kieff became vacant at the time when, on account of the cruelty of Constantine Monomachus towards his Russian prisoners, there was a cessation of all intercourse between the two countries. Hilarion was unanimously

elected to that dignity by a Synod, without reference to Constantinople, and he thus became the first Russian Metropolitan. This was in 1051, and he died in 1054.

S. Gregory, who lived about the end of the eleventh century, contributed largely to Russian Hymnology : his most celebrated Canon is that on S. Theodosius.

S. Cyril of Touroff was born about 1110, and became, at an early age, a monk in that place. He afterwards embraced the life of a Styliste ; and finally was made by force Bishop of his native city. He died about 1183. His chief strength lay in his sermons, which have procured him the title of the Russian Chrysostom ; his principal poetical work is his *Great Canon to Christ*, which has remained to this day a favourite composition in Russia.

We next have to speak of the books in which Greek Hymnology is to be found. They consist principally of sixteen volumes.

a. Twelve of the *Menaea* :—which would answer, in Western Ritual, to the Breviary, minus the ferial offices. But, whereas in the West, the only human compositions of the Breviary are the lections from the sermons of the Fathers, the hymns, and a few responses—the body of the Eastern Breviary is ecclesiastical poetry : poetry, not strictly speaking written in verse, but in measured prose. This is the staple of those three thousand pages—under whatever name the stanzas may be presented—as forming Canons and Odes—as *Troparia*, *Idiomela*, *Stichera*, *Stichoi*, *Contakia*, *Cathismata*, *Theotokia*, *Triodia*, *Staurotheotokia*, *Catabasiae*,—or what not else. Nine-tenths of the Eastern Service-book is poetry.

b. The *Octoechus*, in eight parts. This is the Ferial Office for eight weeks—one week for each of the Tones—whence its name.

γ. The *Triodion* : the Lent volume, which commences on the Sunday of the Pharisee and Publican (that before Septuagesima) and goes down to Easter. It is so called for a reason more easily to be explained presently.

δ. The *Pentecostarion*,—more properly the *Pentecostarion Charmosynon*,—the Office for Easter-tide. On a moderate computation, these volumes together comprise 5,000 closely printed quarto pages, in double columns, of which at least 4,000 are poetry.

Now, the first thought that strikes us is this,—the marvellous ignorance in which English ecclesiastical scholars are content to remain of this huge treasure of divinity—the gradual completion of nine centuries at least. We may safely calculate that not one out of a hundred who peruse these pages will ever have read a Greek ‘*Canon*’ through; yet what a glorious mass

of theology do these offices present! And how can any one presume to sit in criticism on the Eastern Church, to judge of the respective merits of the Oriental and Western Communions, without some moderately competent knowledge of her rites? If a man, criticising the Roman Church, were to say, 'Oh! I have never looked into the Breviary,' we should class him at once with the Closes and Westertons. Might not some of us be as justly amenable to an Oriental censure for passing our verdict on a Church of which we know so little? However, we must not be drawn aside from our more immediate subject by considerations of this kind:—

We have (God wot) a largē field to sow,
And wekē been the oxen to our plow.

We will again remark that, whatever excuse English scholars may have hitherto had from the difficulty of procuring Greek Office-books, the work which stands last on our list will now enable them, without any trouble, and at a very trifling expense, to study for themselves the best compositions of Greek ecclesiastical poetry. Mr. Neale has added such notes as beginners may find useful, if not necessary, in a new study.

We hope some day to draw the reader's attention to the laborious Apostleship of SS. Cyril and Methodius, the evangelizers of the Slavonian peoples, the pioneers of their literature, and, indeed, the very devisers of their alphabet. We mention them here for the mere purpose of observing what a gigantic task must have been the translation of all the Greek Office-books into such a tongue! A literary labour, all circumstances taken into consideration,—the absence of any pioneer, the novelty of the language, the hurried and eventful life of a Missionary, the want of all assistance, and the enormous size of the undertaking, —absolutely without a parallel!

We have seen that, as a general rule, the first poetical attempts of the Eastern, like those of the Western Church, were in classical measures. But as classical Greek died out as a spoken language,—as new trains of thought were familiarized, —as new words were coined, a versification became valueless, which was attached with no living bonds to the new energy, to the onward movement. Dean Trench has admirably expressed this truth in the introduction to his 'Sacred Latin Poetry,' and showed how the 'new wine must be put into new bottles.' Ecclesiastical words *must* be used, which rebelled against classical metre: in Greek, no less than in Latin, five words in eight would be shut out of the principal classical metres. Now, the Gospel was preached to the poor. Church hymns must be the life-expression of all hearts. The Church

was forced to make a way for saying in poetry what her message bade her say.¹

Well, then, the Anacreontics of Sophronius would not answer: how was the problem to be solved?—In Latin, and much about the same time, it was answered by that glorious introduction of rhyme. Why not in Greek also?

Now it is no less true in Greek, than in Latin, that there was a tendency to rhyme from the very beginning. Open Homer: look for leonine rhymes:—

*Νημερτής τε καὶ Ἀψευδῆς καὶ Καλλιάνασσα·
Ἐνθαδὲ ἔην Κλυμένη, Ἰάνειρα καὶ Ἐφιάνασσα.* Il. xviii. 46.

*"Αστεος αἰθομένου" θῶν δέ Φε μηνις ἀνῆκεν
Πᾶσι δὲ θήκε πόνον· πολλόισι δὲ κήδει ἐφῆκεν
Ως Ἄχιλεύς Γρώεστοι πόνον καὶ κήδεια θήκεν.* Il. xxii. 523.

*Οὐ μὲν γὰρ μεῖζον κλέος ἀνέρος, δῆρα κεν γῆσιν
Ἡ δὲ τι ποσσιν τε βέξει καὶ χερσὶν ἔγγισιν.* Odyss. viii. 147.

Cristati are still more common. The reader's attention is particularly requested to those that follow:—

- Il. ii. 220. *"Εχθίστος δ' Ἄχιλῆς μάλιστ' ἦν, ἡδὲ Ὁδυσσῆς.*
 484. *"Εσπερε νῦν μοι, Μούσαι, Ολύμπια δόματα ἔχουσαι.*
 475. *"Ρέια διακρίνωσιν, ἐπει κε νομῷ μιγέσσων.*
 iii. 84. *"Ως ἑφαδ'" οἱ δέ ἔσχοντο μάχης, ἀνεψ τ' ἐγένοντο.*
 v. 529. *"Ω φίλοι, ἀνέρες ἔστε, καὶ ἀλκιμον ἡτορ ἐλεσθε.*
 vi. 243. *Τὸν δέ Ἐλένη μύθουσι προσηγόρευει μειλιχίοισι.*

- Od. i. 40. *"Ἐκ γὰρ Ὁρέσταο τίσις ἔσσεται, Ἀτρεΐδαο.*
 397. *Ἄνταρ ἔγω Γοῖκου Φάναξ ἔσσοι" ἡμετέροι.*
 iv. 121. *"Ἐκ δέ Ἐλένη θαλάμοιο θιάδεος ὑφορόβοιο.*
 xiv. 371. *"Ασπίδας, ὅσσαι ἀρισται ἐνὶ στρατῷ ἡδὲ μέγισται.*

And we might mark multitudes more: but these are enough by way of example. The question then occurs at once, Why did not the new life instilled into the Greek as well as into the

¹ As an illustration of this remark, it is worth while noticing how very few examples of Hexameters occur in the New Testament. We believe that the following are all that are tolerable; that is, that can so be scanned without one or two false quantities:—

- S. Luke xxi. 18. Θρὶξ ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἥμῶν οὐ μὴ ἀπόληται.
 S. John xiii. 5. Βάλλει ὑδωρ εἰς τὸν μικτῆρα, καὶ ἤρξατο μίκτειν.
 S. John xiii. 16. οὐκ ἔστι [ν] δοῦλος μείζων τοῦ κυρίου αὐτῶν.
 S. John xvii. 20. καὶ περὶ τῶν πιστευσάντων διὰ τοῦ λόγου αὐτῶν.
 Titus iii. 2. μηδένα βλασphemεῖν, ἀμάχους εἶναι, ἐπιεικεῖς.
 Heb. xii. 13. καὶ τροχιάς ὄρθας ποιήσατε τοῖς ποσὶν ἥμῶν.

There are some which are very near a hexameter: as S. Matt. xxiii. 6.—

καὶ τὰς πρωτοκαθεδρίας ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς.

A tolerable pentameter occurs in Rom. vi. 13.—

καὶ τὰ μέλη ὑμῶν ὥστα δικαιοσύνης.

and a remarkable iambic in the Lord's Prayer—

τὸν δρυτὸν ἥμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον δίδου.

Latin Church by Christianity, seize the grand capability of RHYME in the one case as well as in the other? How admirably it would have suited Anacreontics! How stately it would have been in anapæstics! Why was it neglected?

For this reason: the reader must remember that **NONE OF THE RHYMES WE HAVE BEEN POINTING OUT IN HOMER WOULD BE RHYMES TO A GREEK EAR.** Read them accentually, and you find ἄρισται and μέγισται are no more double rhymes to a Greek than *gloriously* and *ferociously* are to us: μοῦσαι and ἔχουσαι, no more than *glory* and *victory*. Accent, in the decline of the language, was trampling down quantity. Now accent is not favourable to all rhymes, though many poems have been thus composed in the newer Greek:—

εὐρον φίλον κοματάη
καθ' ὅπερ τετραγωνάη.

But it was not flowing and easy,—above all, it was not dignified. There was an innate vulgarity about it which rendered it impossible to the Church.

Now, let it be observed, accentuation even in Latin was not without its difficulty. In the new style, dissyllables, whatever their real quantity, were always read—and so we read them now—as a trochee. Férox, vélox, scéptrum. Hence a verse in the early metrical hymns, such as—

‘Castos fides somnos juvat,’

a dimeter iambic, would have been read in mediaeval times, Cástos fides sómnos júvat, and so have virtually become a dimeter trochaic.

Popular poetry soon devised its own metre, *political verse*, as it was called, because used for every-day domestic matters. This was none other than the favourite metre of Aristophanes, *iambic tetrameter catalectic*,—our own ballad metre:—

A Captain bold of Halifax, who lived in country quarters.

And this, sometimes with rhyme, sometimes without, is the favourite Romaic metre to the present day. For example:—

μὴ διὰ θύρας βάίνειν δὲ λέγω τοὺς κλέπταβζάδας
χωστούς, ἐγκλείστους, ἀλκοντας θύρια, στελοβάτας,
πάντας ὅποι παρὰ τὰ νόμιμα δρῶσι τὸν βίον,
καὶ τῶν μονοτροπούντων δὲ, πλὴν ἐν ἐρήμοις τρόποις.

The Church never attempted this sing-song stanza, and preferred falling back on an older form.

From the brief allusions we find to the subject in the New Testament, we should gather that ‘the hymns and spiritual songs’ of the Apostles were written in metrical prose. Accustomed as many of the early Christians were to the Hebrew

Scriptures, this was not unlikely; and proof seems strong that it was so. Compare these passages:—

Eph. v. 14. Wherefore he saith: ἔγειρε ὁ καθεῖδων,
καὶ ἀνάστα ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν
ἐπιγείνονται σοι ὁ Χριστός.

Undoubtedly the fragment of a hymn. Again:—

Apos. iv. 8. μεγάλα καὶ θαυμαστὰ τὰ ἡργα σου,
Κύριε ὁ Θεός, ὁ παντοκράτωρ·
δίκαιαι καὶ δηλθιναὶ αἱ ὄδοι σου,
ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν ἑθνῶν.

And nearly coeval with these we have the *Gloria in Excelsis*, the *Ter Sanctus*, and the *Joyful Light*. Also the Eastern phase, so to speak, of the *Te Deum*; the *καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν*.

Then, not to pursue the subject with a detail of which this paper will not admit, we find that, by the sixth century, verse, properly speaking (and that with scarcely an exception), had been discarded for ever from the hymns of the Eastern Church; those hymns, occupying a space beyond all comparison greater than they do in the Latin, being written in measured prose. And now to explain the system.

The stanza which is to form the model of the succeeding stanzas,—the strophe, in fact,—is called the *Hirmos*, from its drawing others after it. The stanzas which are to follow it are called *troparia*, from their turning to it.

Let Ps. cxix. 13, be the *Hirmos*:—

‘I will talk of Thy commandments : and have respect unto Thy ways.’

Accentuation:—

/ — / — / — / — || — / — / — / — / — /

Then verse 15 would be a *troparion* to it:—

‘With my lips have I been telling : of all the judgments of Thy mouth.’

So would 17:—

‘O do well unto Thy servant : that I may live, and keep Thy word.’
and Ps. cii. 16:—

‘When the Lord shall build up Sion : and when His glory shall appear.’

Let verse 44 be a *Hirmos*:—

‘So shall I alway keep Thy law : yea, for ever and ever.’

/ — / — / — / — || — / — / — / — /

and 45 will be a *troparion* to it:—

‘And I will walk at liberty : for I seek Thy commandments.’

The perfection of *troparia* is in a Canon, of which we shall say more presently. We need not trouble the reader with the minute distinctions between *troparia* and *stichera*; as a *troparion* follows

a *Hirmos*, so a *sticheron* follows an *homoion*, and then becomes a *prosomoion*. There are also *idiomela*,—that is, stanzas which are their own models,—and an infinite variety of names expressive of the different kind of troparia.

A collection of any number of troparia, preceded by their *Hirmos*, sometimes merely quoted by its initial words, sometimes given at length, and with inverted commas, is an *Ode*. And let this be most carefully observed: an ode is simply a *Sequence* under somewhat different laws. Just when the system of Greek ecclesiastical poetry was fully developed, S. Notker and the Monks of S. Gall hit out a similar one for the Latin Church. It was not copied from the East, for we have Notker's own account of the way in which he invented it. It prospered to a certain extent; that is, it became one, though the least important, branch of Ecclesiastical verses.

Now the perfection of Greek poetry is attained by the Canons at prime, of which we proceed to speak.

A *Canon* consists of nine *Odes*,—each *Ode* containing any number of troparia from three to beyond twenty. The reason for the number nine is this: that there are nine Scriptural canticles, employed at Lauds (*eiς τὸ Ὁρθρον*), on the model of which those in every *Canon* are formed. The first: that of Moses after the passage of the Red Sea—the second, that of Moses in Deuteronomy (chap. xxxiii.)—the third, that of Hannah—the fourth, that of Habakkuk—the fifth, that of Isaiah (xxvi. 9—20)—the sixth, that of Jonah—the seventh, that of the Three Children (verses 3—34, of our ‘Song’ in the Bible Version)—the eighth, *Benedicite*—the ninth, *Magnificat* and *Benedictus*.

From this arrangement two consequences follow. The first, that, as the Second Canticle is never recited except in Lent, the Canons never have any second *Ode*. The other, that there is generally some reference, either direct or indirect, in each *Ode*, to the Canticle of the same number. This gives rise, on the one hand, to a marvellous amount of ingenuity, in tracing the most far-fetched connexions—in discovering the most remote analogies;—it brings out into the clearest light the wonderful analogies which underlie the surface of Scripture narration; and so far imbues each *Ode* with a depth of Scriptural meaning which it could scarcely otherwise reach. On the other, it has a stiffening and cramping effect; and sometimes, especially to the uninitiated, it has somewhat of a ludicrous tendency. It would be curious to sum up the variety of objects of which, in a thousand *Sixth Odes*, we find Jonah's Whale a type. On the whole, this custom has about the same disadvantages and advantages which Warton points out as resulting from the four rhymes of

a Spenserian stanza ;—the advantages,—picturesqueness, ingenuity, art, discovery of new beauties ;—the disadvantages, unconcealed by art, tautology, imparity of similitudes, a caricature of typology, painful and affected elaboration.

The Hirmos, on which each Ode is based, is sometimes quoted at length at the commencement, in which case it is always distinguished by inverted commas, or the first few words are merely cited as a note to the reciter, for whose benefit the Tone is also given.

The next noticeable matter is that these Odes are usually arranged after an acrostich, itself usually in verse : sometimes alphabetical. The latter device was probably borrowed from the Psalms ; as, for example, the 25, 112, 119.

The arrangement is not to be considered as an useless formality or *pretty-ism* : it was of the greatest importance, when so many Canons had to be remembered by heart. We know to what curious devices the Western Church, in matters connected with the Calendar, had recourse as a *Memoria Technica* ; and not a few of her short hymns were alphabetical, either by verses or by lines : we know no instance of any other kind of acrostich. Besides the line which forms the initials of Greek Canons, the name of the composer likewise finds a frequent place. And it is worth noting, that, whereas the authors of the world-famous hymns of the West, with a few exceptions (such as the *Vexilla Regis*, the *Dies Iræ*, the *Veni Sancte Spiritus*), are unknown, the case in the East is reversed. The acrostich may, or may not, run through the Theotokia, of which we now proceed to speak.

Each ode is ended by a troparion, dedicated to the celebration of S. Mary, and thence named *Theotokion*. Sometimes there is another, which commemorates her at the Cross ; and then it is a *Stauro-theotokion*. In long Odes, a stanza sometimes intercalated at the end of the third or sixth, is called a *Cathisma*, because the congregation are then allowed to sit. There is also the *Oicos*, literally the *House*,—which is the exact Italian *Stanza*, about the length of three ordinary troparia.

The acrostichs are usually in iambics,—sometimes none of the best : e.g.—

ἐκπλήττομαι σου τὸν λόγον, Ζαχαρίᾳ,

on the feast of S. Zacharias the Prophet :—and generally bringing in some paronomasia on the Saint's name ; as—

φερώνυμόν σε τοῦ Θεῶν δῶρον σέβω, as that of S. Dorotheus.

Or again :—

τρυφῆς μεθέξειν ἀξίωσόν με, Τρύφων.

and of S. Clement :—

μελπω στε, κλῆμα τῆς νοητῆς ἀμπέλου.

and of S. Xene:—

εἰκάδι οὐρανοῦ εἰς ξενίην Ξένη ἥλθε τετάρτη.

Again, (and that is especially the case in the acrostichs of S. Joseph of the Studium,) the name of the composer is given at the end; as—

Χριστοῦ φυτόν στε, Μάρτυς, εὐφημώ νέον Ἰωσήφ.

But there are examples of acrostichs which take the form of an hexameter:—

τὸν πανάριστον ἐν ἀσκηταῖς Μακάριον κυδάινο·

and

Τιμόθεον τὸν Ἀπόστολον ἄσμασι τοῖσδε γεραιρώ·

and

τὸν θεορήματα Γρηγόριον τὸν δοϊδιμον ἄδω.

We must repeat what we have said before: that while the Odes which treat of such subjects as the Resurrection, Ascension, Nativity, are magnificent specimens of religious poetry, those later ones, composed in commemoration of Martyrs, of whom nothing but the fact of their martyrdom is known, are grievously dull and heavy. Herein the Eastern Church would have done well, to have had, for such as these, a Canon of the Common of Martyrs, instead of celebrating each differently—if the tautology which composes such Odes can indeed be called *different*.

We shall now be in a condition to investigate an actual Ode: it shall be the first from the Feast of *Meso-Pentecost*. The first troparion we copy, (*as all are pointed*,) marked for chanting; it is this *commatism* which makes Greek hymns so difficult to read. In Mr. Neale's edition, the commas are very wisely left out. We have given the effect in the first stanza of the English:—

Κανὼν τοῦ Κυριοῦ Θεοφάνους
οὗ ἡ ἀκροτιχίς
μέσην ἑορτῶν τῶν μεγιστῶν ἀνέσω.

Ἡδὴ ἀ. ἥχος δ'. ὁ εἱρμος.

Θαλάσσης τὸ ἐρυθράν πέλαγος,
ἀβρόχοις ἵχνεσιν, ὁ παλαὶς πεζεύσας
Ἰσραὴλ, σταυρούποις Μωσέως χεροῖ,
τὸν Ἀμαλὴκ τὴν δύναμιν, ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ
ἐγροπώσατο.

A Canon of Theophanes,
of which the acrostich is:
The greatest feasts' mid-point I cele-
brate.

Israel in ancient times passing
on foot with, unbedewed steps the
Red Gulf, of the sea, turned to flight
by, the cross-typifying arms, of
Moses the might of Amalek, in the
wilderness.

Τροπάριον.

Μεγάλαι τῆς ὑπέρ νοῦν σου, Δέσ-
ποτα, θείας σαρκώσεως εὐέργεισι
λάμποντον ἡμῖν, δωρεὶ τε καὶ χάρι-
τες, καὶ θεῖκαὶ λαμπρότητες, ἀγαθό-
δότα, ἀναβρύνουσαι.

Troparion.

Mighty, O LORD, and exceeding
the intellect are the benefits of Thy
Divine Incarnation which flash on
us,—the gifts and graces, and divine
splendours, which well forth from
Thee, Giver of good things.

Ἐπέστης, μαρμαρυγὸς Θεότητος
ἐξαποστέλλων, Χριστὲ, τῆς ἑορτῆς ἐν
μέσῳ προφανῶς ἔορτή γάρ χαριζόσυ-
νος τῶν σωζόμενῶν πέφυκας, καὶ σω-
τηρίας ἡμῶν πρόξενος.

Σοφία, δικαιοσύνη, Κύριε, καὶ ἀπο-
λύτρωσις παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ γέγονας ἡμῶν,
ἀπὸ γῆς πρὸς οὐράνιον διαβιβάζων
ὑψώμα, καὶ Πνεῦμα θεῖον χαριζόμενος.

Θεοτόκιον.

Ἡ σάρξ σου διαφθορὰν ἐν μήματι
οὐκ εἶδε, Δέσποτα ἀλλ, ὡς συνέστη
ἄνευδεν σπορᾶς, τὴν φθορὰν οὐκ ἐδέ-
ξατο, ἀκολονθίᾳ φύσεως ὑπερουσίως μὴ
δουλεύσασα.

Thou didst stand, O CHRIST, before
the multitude, flashing forth the
splendours of Deity in the midst of
the Feast: for Thou art the joyous
Feast of them that are saved, and
the Patron of our salvation.

Thou wast made from GOD, O
LORD, Wisdom, Righteousness, and
Redemption to us, causing us to
pass from earth to the height of
Heaven, and bestowing on us the
Divine Spirit.

Thy Flesh, O LORD, beheld not
corruption in the Sepulchre:—but,
as it was composed without human
seed, it gave no place to corruption,
beyond the laws of essence, not
being in subjection to destruction.

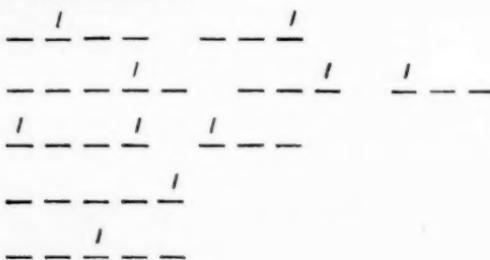
It will be seen that the accentual scansion of this Hirmos
and its attendant troparia is as follows:—



Take the next Hirmos:—

Εὐφραίνεται ἐπὶ σοὶ ἡ Ἐκκλησία σου, Χριστὲ, κράζουσα·
σὺ μον ἰσχὺς, Κύριε, καὶ καταφυγὴ, καὶ στερέωμα.

Here the accentuation is:—



We said, some short time since, that the Greek Ode and the Latin Notkerian Sequence were essentially the same. This being so, it is to introduce confusion into the very axioms of hymnology to call that kind of Sequences, as Mone does, Troparia. The Troparion does not answer to the Sequence, but to each stanza of the Sequence. The differences between Odes and Sequences may briefly be summed up as follows:—

1. The *Hirmos* in the former has a number of Troparia following it and based on it, whereas in the latter the *Troparia* run in couples; that is, one *Hirmos* has one follower, or *homoion*, and there an end; then another follows another, and so on. There are sometimes triplets, but these are not common.

2. The *Hirmos* in Greek Odes is always an already existing Troparion; whereas, in Latin, the writer composed that as much as any other part of the Sequence. But in certain Sequences this was not always the case. Godeschalkus sometimes took a verse from the Psalms.

3. Sometimes, indeed, a whole Sequence was made *super* some other Sequence, and then it became a vast Troparion, the different verses taking the place of the *commatims* in Greek Odes. In the February number of *The Ecclesiologist* is given a list of *Hirmos*-Sequences, from the Brander MS. of S. Gall. But even in these cases, it is better not to call them Troparia, as they have so little real resemblance to Greek stanzas of that kind: we had rather see them called *Homoia*.

4. The rhythm in the Greek is far more exact. Not only the syllabic arrangement, but the accentuation is the same; whereas in Latin, the accentuation is often *counter*; that is, an iambic dimeter in the *Hirmos* is answered by a trochaic dimeter in the Troparion. Such a licence would not for one moment be allowed in the Greek. For example, if the *Hirmos* were,—

‘The Lord is great in Sion: and high above all people,’

i.e. — / — / — / — | — / — / — / — / —

the requirements of a Sequence would be satisfied with the Troparion,

‘Look upon my misery: and forgive me all my sins.’

i.e. / — / — / — | — / — / — / — / —

We now proceed to give some specimens of the Ecclesiastical poetry, the laws of which we have been pointing out. And to commence with the first epoch.

It is not our intention to dwell on the poems of S. Gregory Nazianzen, and others of that epoch, because we intend to confine ourselves to ecclesiastical poetry properly so called, and

used in the services of the Eastern Church. The first quotation we therefore shall make shall be the magnificent *Idiomelon*, or irresponsive stanza of S. Anatolius, for the *Proheortia*—one of the preparatory festivals—of the Nativity :—

In Bethlehem is He born,
Maker of all things, everlasting GOD !
He opens Eden's gate,
Monarch of ages ! Thence the fiery sword
Gives glorious passage ; thence,
The severing mid-wall overthrown, the powers
Of earth and Heaven are one ;
Angels and men renew their ancient league,
The pure rejoins the pure,
In happy union ! Now the Virgin-womb
Like some Cherubic Throne
Containeth Him, the Uncontainable :
Bears Him, Whom while they bear
The Seraphs tremble ! bears Him, as He comes
To shower upon the world
The fulness of His Everlasting Love !

We will now give some specimens of the poets who flourished in the second age of Greek Hymnography. Whether the peculiar construction of the ecclesiastical stanzas is better represented in verse or by prose, we can scarcely decide ; and shall therefore adopt the one or the other, as chance may suggest. The verse, though the work of the writer of this article, does not, *all of it*, now appear in print for the first time.

S. Andrew of Crete claims our first notice. It would be unjustifiable not to quote some small portion of that which the Greeks regard as the king of Canons,—the *Great Canon* on the Thursday of Mid-Lent week. It is a collection of scriptural examples, turned to the purpose of penitential confession. It is impossible to deny the touching beauty of many parts, and the ingenuity of some. But its immense length,—for it consists of about 300 troparia,—and necessary tautology, must render it wearisome, unless devotionally used under the peculiar circumstances for which it is appointed. The following is a part of the first Ode :—

Whence shall my tears begin ?
What first-fruits shall I bear
To CHRIST, of sorrow for my sin ?
Or how my woe declare ?
But O, Thou merciful and gracious
One,
Forgive the many sins that I have
done !

With Adam have I vied,
Yea, pass'd him, in my fall ;
And I am naked now, by pride
And lust made bare of all :

Of Thee, O GOD, and that celestial
band,
And all the gladness of the promis'd
Land.

No earthly Eve beguil'd
My body into sin :
A spiritual temptress smil'd,—
Concupiscence within :
Unbridled passion pointed out the
sweet ;
Most bitter,—and for ever,—was the
meat.

If Adam's righteous doom,
Because he dared transgress
Thy one command, lost Eden's
bloom,
And Eden's loveliness;
What recompense, O LORD, must I
expect,
Who all my life Thy quick'ning laws
neglect?

By mine own act, like Cain,
A murderer am I made:
By mine own act my soul was slain,
When Thou wast disobey'd:
And fleshly lusts are quicken'd,
warring still
Against the soul with many a deed
of ill.

Thou formed'st me of clay,
O Heavenly Potter! Thou
In fleshly vesture didst array,
With breath and life endow:
Thou Who didst make, Who didst
redeem, dost know,
To Thy repentant creature pity
show!

My guilt for vengeance cries;
But yet Thou pitiest all.

And whom Thou lov'st, Thou dost
chastise,
And mourn'st for those that fall.
Thou, as a Father, mark'st our tears
and pain,
And welcomest the prodigal again!

I lie before Thy door;
O cast me not away!
Nor in my old age give me o'er
To Satan for a prey:
But at the end of life and term of
grace,
Thou merciful! my many sins efface!
The priest beheld, and pass'd
The way he had to go:
A careless eye the Levite cast,
And left me to my woe:
But Thou, O JESU, Mary's Son,
console,
Draw nigh and succour me, and
make me whole!

Thou Spotless LAMB Divine,
That takest sins away,
Take Thou away the load that mine
Upon my conscience lay:
And of Thy tender mercy grant
Thou me
To find remission of iniquity!

The last Ode pleads the examples of penitence and forgiveness shown to and promised by our LORD, and it ends with great fervour and tenderness:—

*Κριτά μου καὶ γνωστά μου, δμέλλων πάλιν ἔρχεσθαι σὺν τοῖς Ἀγγέλοις,
κρίνα κόσμον ἀπαντά, Δέψει σου δματι τότε ίδον με φέοισαι,
καὶ οἰκτερόν με Ἰησοῦν, τον ὑπὲρ τὴν πάσαν φύσιν τῶν ἀνθρώπων
ἀμαρτίσαντα!*

Of a different kind are the following stichera, said at Vespers on Easter-Day:—

The eternal Generation
And the earthly Incarnation
Of the Word That brings salvation,
Let us hail with one accord:
He endured the Cross and Passion,
Was entombed in mortal fashion,
Rise again, Life's victor, LORD!
He hath ransom'd, at that cost,
Me, the wandering and the lost.

CHRIST, our God, in love de-
lighting, [writing,
Now hath nail'd the dread hand-

That condemned us, to the Tree:
He, by death, Death's reign hath
ended;
Wherefore heart and voice be blended
To proclaim His victory.

Thou, Thyself the Resurrection,
Thou, our Ransom and Protection,
Who the debt of sin hast paid;
God, once man, in pomp returning,
Shall, the orb around Thee burning,
Judge the world that Thou hast
made.

The Ode for Easter-Day.

The following Ode,—it is the first in the Canon for S. Thomas's Sunday (Low Sunday),—is well worthy of S. John Damascene:—

Come, ye faithful, raise the strain
Of triumphant gladness :
GOD hath brought His Israel
Into joy from sadness :
Loos'd from Pharaoh's bitter yoke
Jacob's sons and daughters,—
Led them with unmoistened foot
Through the Red Sea waters.

'T is the Spring of Souls to-day :
CHRIST hath burst the prison,
And from three days' sleep in death
As a Sun hath risen :
All the winter of our sins,
Long and dark, is flying
From His Light, to Whom we give
Laud and praise undying.

Now the Queen of seasons, bright
With the Day of Splendour,
With the Royal time of times
Comes its own to render :
Comes to glad Jerusalem,
Who, with true affection,
Welcomes, in unwearied strains,
JESU'S Resurrection.

Neither might the gates of Death,
Nor the Tomb's dark portal,
Nor the watchers, nor the seal,
Hold Thee as a mortal :
But, arisen, midst Thy friends
Thou didst stand, bestowing
That Thy Peace, which evermore
Passeth human knowing !

We will now give a Canon of S. Cosmas of Maiuma, for Christmas-day. The love for typology which distinguishes this poet, and which entitles him to the name of the Oriental Adam of S. Victor, will be noticed very strikingly in the last three Odes.

Xριστὸς γεννᾶσας δοξάσας.

ODE I.

CHRIST is born ! Tell forth his fame !
CHRIST from Heaven ! His Love
proclaim !
CHRIST on earth ! Exalt His Name !
Sing to the LORD, O world, with
exultation !
Break forth in glad thanksgiving,
every nation !
For He hath triumphed
gloriously !

Man, in GOD's own Image made,
Man, by Satan's wiles betrayed,
Man, on whom corruption preyed,
Shut out from hope of life and of
Salvation,
To-day CHRIST maketh him a new
Creation,
For He hath triumphed
gloriously !

For the Maker, when His foe
Wrought the creature death and woe,
Bowed the Heav'ns, and came below,¹
And, in the Virgin's womb His
dwelling making,
Became True Man, man's very
nature taking ;
For He hath triumphed
gloriously !

He, the Wisdom, WORD, and Might,
God, and SON, and Light of light,
Undiscovered by the sight
Of earthly monarch, or infernal
spirit,
Incarnate was, that we might
Heav'n inherit :
For He hath triumphed
gloriously !

¹ The reference is to Psalm xviii. 8 :—‘ And he bowed the heavens, and came down.’

ODE III.

Him, of the FATHER's very Essence
Begotten, ere the world began,
And, in the latter time, of Mary,
Without a human sire, made
man :
Unto Him, this glorious morn,
Be the strains outpoured ;
Thou That liftest up our horn,¹
Holy art Thou, LORD !

The earthly Adam, erewhile quicken'd
By the blest breath of GOD on
high,
Now made the victim of corruption,
By woman's guile betray'd to die,
He, deceiv'd by woman's part,
Supplication pour'd,
Thou Who in my nature art,
Holy art Thou, LORD !

Thou, JESUS CHRIST, wast consubstan-tial
With this our perishable clay,
And, by assuming earthly nature,
Exaltest it to heavenly day.
Thou, that wast as mortal born,
Being GOD ador'd,
Thou That liftest up our horn,
Holy art Thou, LORD !

Rejoice, O Bethlehem, the city
Whence Judah's monarchs had
their birth ;
Where He that sitteth on the
Cherubs,
The King of Israel, came on earth :
Manifested this blest morn,
As of old time never,
He hath lifted up our horn,
He shall reign for ever !

ODE IV.

Rod of the Root of Jesse,
Thou, Flower of Mary born,
From that thick shady mountain² :
Canst glorious forth this morn :
Of her, the Ever Virgin,
Incarnate wast Thou made,
The immaterial Essence,
The GOD by all obeyed !
Glory, LORD, Thy servants pay
To Thy wondrous might to-day !

The Gentiles' expectation,
Whom Jacob's words foretell,
Who Syria's pride shall vanquish,
Samaria's power shalt quell ;
Thou from the Root of Judah
Like some fair plant dost spring,
To turn old Gentile error
To Thee, its GOD and King !
Glory, LORD, Thy servants pay
To Thy wondrous might to-day !

In Balaam's ancient vision
The Eastern seers were skilled ;
They marked the constellations,
And joy their spirits filled :
For Thou, bright Star of Jacob,
Arising in Thy might,
Didst call these Gentile first-fruits
To worship in Thy Light.
They, in holy reverence bent,
Gifts acceptable present.

As in a fleece descending
The gentle dews distil,
As drops the earth that water,
The Virgin didst Thou fill.
Tarshish and Ethiopia,
The Isles and Arabie,
And Media, leagued with Sheba,
Fall down and worship Thee.
Glory, LORD, Thy servants pay
To Thy wondrous might to-day !

¹ The repetition of this phrase is, of course, referable to the Ode's being based on the Song of Hannah; in the same way that the 'For He hath triumphed gloriously,' of the First Ode, is derived from the Song of Moses.

² The reference is to Habakkuk iii. 3, which in the LXX. runs thus :—'God shall come from Teman, and the Holy One from the thick and shady mountain.' S. Augustine (*De Civit. Dei*, xviii. 32) and S. Gregory the Great (*Moral. xxxiii. 1*) understand this mountain of the Scriptures prophetic of the Incarnation.

ODE V.

Father of Peace, and God of Consolation !
 The Angel of the mighty Counsel here,
 Thou sentest peace to herald with salvation,
 And with Thy knowledge and Thy light to cheer :
 Whence, with the morning's earliest rays,
 Lover of men ! Thy Name we praise.

Midst Caesar's subjects Thou, at his decreeing,
 Obey'dst and wast enroll'd : our mortal race,
 To sin and Satan slave, from bondage freeing,
 Our poverty in all points didst embrace :
 And by that Union didst combine
 The earthly with the All-Divine.

Behold ! The Virgin, prophecy sustaining,
 Incarnate Deity conceived and bore :
 Virgin in Birth, and Virgin still remaining :
 And man to God is reconcil'd once more :
 Wherefore in faith her name we bless,
 And Mother of our GOD confess.

ODE VI.

As Jonah,¹ issuing from his three days' tomb,
 At length was cast, uninjured, on the earth;
 So, from the Virgin's unpoluted womb
 The Incarnate Word, That dwelt there, had His Birth :
 For He, Who knew no taint of mortal stain,
 Willed that His Mother spotless should remain.

CHRIST comes, Incarnate GOD, amongst us now,
 Begotten of the FATHER ere the day :
 And He, to Whom the sinless legions bow,
 Lies cradled, midst unconscious beasts, in hay :
 And, by His homely swaddling-bands girt in,
 Loosens the many fetters of our sin.

Now the New Child of Adam's race draws nigh,
 To us, the faithful, given : This, this is He
 That shall the Father of Eternity,
 And Angel of the Mighty Counsel, be :
 This the eternal GOD, by Whose strong hands
 The fabric of the world supported stands.

ODE VII.

The Holy Children boldly stand
 Against the tyrant's dread command :

¹ Here is a striking instance of the impropriety into which too close an adherence to the principle of the Nine Odes occasionally leads the Greek poets. In the first place, to keep up the metaphor, it should have been the whale, and not Jonah (that which contained, not that which was contained), which was spoken of as unhurt. And, next, it is manifest that the whole type is beneath the dignity of the subject, and never could have suggested itself but from the accident of position.

The kindled furnace they defy,—
No doom can shake their constancy :
They in the midmost flame confess'd,
“ GOD of our Fathers ! Thou art bless'd ! ”

The Shepherds keep their flocks by night ;
The Heav'n glows out with wond'rous light ;
The glory of the LORD is there,
And Angel words their King declare :
The watchers of the night confess'd,
“ GOD of our Fathers ! Thou art bless'd ! ”

The Angel ceas'd ; and suddenly
Seraphic legions fill'd the sky :
Glory to GOD, they cried again :
Peace upon earth, good will to men :
CHRIST comes !—And they that heard confess'd,
“ GOD of our Fathers ! Thou art bless'd ! ”

What said the Shepherds ?—Let us go
This new-born miracle to know.
To Bethlehem's gate their footsteps drew :
The Mother with the Child they view :
They knelt, and worshipp'd, and confess'd,
“ GOD of our Fathers ! Thou art bless'd ! ”

ODE VIII.

The dewy freshness that the furnace flings
Works out a wond'rous type of future things :
Nor did the flame the Holy Three consume,
Nor did the Godhead's fire thy frame entomb,—
Thou, on Whose bosom hung the WORD :
Wherefore we cry with heart's endeavour,—
“ Let all Creation bless the LORD,
And magnify His Name for ever ! ”

From Sion David's sons, with sword and spear,
Babel's proud daughter led to bondage drear :
She bids her wise men now, with gifts in hand,
Before King David's Royal Daughter stand,—
The Mother of the Incarnate WORD ;—
Wherefore we cry, with heart's endeavour,—
“ Let all Creation bless the LORD,
And magnify His Name for ever ! ”

From music grief held back the exiles' hand :
“ How sing the LORD's song in an alien land ? ”
But Babel's exile here is done away,
And Bethlehem's harmony this glorious day
By Thee, Incarnate GOD, restor'd :
Wherefore we cry, with heart's endeavour,—
“ Let all Creation bless the LORD,
And magnify His Name for ever ! ”

Of old victorious Babel bore away
The spoils of Royal Sion and her prey :

But Babel's treasure now, and Babel's King,
CHRIST, by the guiding Star, to Sion brings.
 There have they knelt, and there ador'd :
 Wherefore we cry, with heart's endeavour,—
 " Let all Creation bless the **LORD**,
 And magnify His Name for ever!"

ODE IX.

O wondrous mystery, full of passing grace !
 The grot becometh Heav'n : the Virgin's¹ breast
 The bright Cherubic Throne : the stall that place,
 Where He, Who fills all space, vouchsafes to rest :
 CHRIST our God, to Whom we raise
 Hymns of thankfulness and praise !

The course propitious of the unknown Star
 The Magi follow'd on its heav'nly way,—
 Until it led them, beckoning from afar,
 To where the **CHRIST**, the King of all things, lay :
 Him in Bethlehem they find,
 Born the **SAVIOUR** of mankind.

" Where is the Child," they ask, " the new-born King,
 Whose herald-light is glittering in the sky,—
 To Whom our offerings and our praise we bring ?"
 And Herod's heart is troubled utterly.
 Armed for war with God, in vain
 Would he see that Infant slain.

Of the same date are the following troparia, which occur in the Sunday Liturgy for the week of the First Tone. They are sung after the Beatitudes, which are always recited on Sunday ; and just before the Gospel is solemnly brought in with the rite called the *Little Entrance*.

By fruit the ancient Foe's device
 Drave Adam forth of Paradise :
CHRIST, by the Cross of shame and
 pain,
 The dying thief brought back again :
 " When in Thy Kingdom, **LORD**,"
 said he,
 " Thou shalt return, remember me ! "

Thy Holy Passion evermore,
 And Resurrection, we adore :
 With heart and voice to Thee on
 high,
 As Adam and the thief we cry :
 " When in Thy Kingdom Thou
 shalt be
 Victor o'er all things, think of me ! "

Thou, after three appointed days,
 The Body's Temple didst upraise :
 And Adam's children, one and all,
 With Adam to new life didst call.
 " When Thou," they cry, " shalt
 victor be
 In that Thy Kingdom, think of me ! "

Early, O **CHRIST**, to find Thy Tomb
 The weeping ointment-bearers
 come :
 The Angel, cloth'd in white, hath
 said,
 " Why seek the Living with the dead ?
 The **Lord** of Life hath ris'n again,
 Whom here ye mourn and weep in
 vain."

This is one of the commonest of Greek metaphors. So in the Canon of the same author for the Purification : Θεώμενος Συμέων Αἰγύον, τὸν ἀπαρχόν, μετὰ σαρκός, ὡς ἐν θρόνῳ Χερουβίνῳ, Παρθένῳ ἐποχούμενον.

The Apostles, on Thy Vision bent,
Towards the appointed mountain
went :
And there they worship when they
see,
And there the mission comes from
Thee ;
That every race beneath the skies
They should disciple and baptize.

We praise the FATHER, GOD on
High :
The Holy SON we magnify :
The HOLY GHOST with equal praise
We laud,—and thus our prayers we
raise :—
“This grace, blest TRINITY, we crave :
Thy suppliant servants hear and
save !”

Next we give the Stichera which occur in the First Vespers of S. Stephen's Day. They are by Anatolius, Bishop, we believe, of Cyrene, who sat in the Fifth Ecumenical Council ; and who has contributed some few stanzas to the ecclesiastical treasury of Menæa.

The LORD and King of all things
Upon the earth is born :
And Stephen's glorious offering
His birthday shall adorn.
No pearls of orient splendour,
No jewels can he show,
But with his own true heart's blood
His shining vestments glow.

Come, ye that love the Martyrs,
And pluck the flowers of song,
And weave them in a garland
For this our suppliant throng :

Make supplication, standing
Before CHRIST's royal Throne,
That He would give the Kingdom,
And for our sins atone !

And say, Oh thou that shinest
In grace and wisdom's ray,
CHRIST's valiant Protomartyr,
For peace and favour pray !

Thou first of all the Martyrs,
Of all the deacons crown,
Of every following athlete
The glory and renown ;
Thou boast of all the faithful,
Who mark thy blood-stain'd way,
Thy venerable festal
We celebrate to-day ;

We will now try a portion of S. Andrew's Canon for Meso-Pentecost, in that which perhaps gives the truest idea of the original, rhymeless lyric metre.

ODE I. Eighth Tone.

Thou turn'dst the sea.

Exult, ye Gentiles ! mourn, ye Hebrews ! CHRIST,
Giver of life, bath burst
The fetters of the Tomb :
And raised the dead again, and healed the sick.
This is our GOD, Who giveth life
To every soul believing in His Name.

Marvel of marvels ! Thou, O LORD, didst turn
The water into wine,
As once Thou spak'st the word
To Egypt's river, and forthwith 'twas blood!
All praise to Thee, O LORD, Who now
By laying down Thy glory, man renew'st !

O overflowing stream of truest Life !
Our Resurrection, Lord !
Thou for our sakes didst toil,

Thou for our sakes,—so nature will'd,—didst thirst,
 And, sitting down by Sichar's well,
 Of the Samaritan didst seek to drink.

Thou blessest bread, Thou multipliest fish—
 Incomprehensible !
 Freely Thou feed'st the crowd,
 Gav'st Wisdom's endless spring to men athirst.
 Thou art the SAVIOUR, O our God !
 Giver of Life to them that trust in Thee !

Glory.

Three co-eternal, co-enthroned, I laud :
 The unbegotten Sire,
 And co-existent Son,
 And Spirit, co-eternal with the twain :
 Tri-hypostatic Essence ! One
 In might and monarchy and Godhead sole !

Both now.

Mother of GOD ! Thou only didst contain
 The Uncontainable,
 And brought'st the Infant forth
 Ineffable in thy Virginity.
 Hence without ceasing, O most pure,
 Vouchsafe to pour down mercy on Thy flock !

Catarasia.

[i.e. The Hirmos, employed as a kind of termination and shading off
 of this Ode into the next.]

Thou turn'dst the sea to land, when thou didst whelm
 Pharaoh and all his host,
 His chariot and his horse :
 And ledd'st Thy people to Thy Holy Mount.
 Sing we, said they, to Thee, our GOD,
 Mighty in war, this Ode of Victory !

Of the same date, again, are the following *Idiomela*, at the beginning of Vespers on Friday in the week of Tyrophagus ; that is, of Quinquagesima. At this period of the year the weeks are named, not from the Sundays that precede, but from those that follow them. Quinquagesima is termed Tyrophagus, because up to that time, but not beyond, cheese is allowed. The Friday previous is appropriated to the Commemoration of All Holy Ascetics ; in order, as the Synaxarion says, that, by the remembrance of their conflict, we may be braced for the race that is set before us.

Δεύτε ἄπαντες πιστοί.

Hither, and with one accord, Sing the servants of the LORD : Sing each great ascetic sire ;— Antony shall lead the choir :	Let Euthymius next him stand ; Then, in order, all the band. Make we joyous celebration Of their heavenly conversation ;
---	---

Of their glory, how they rise,
Like another Paradise :
These the trees our GOD hath
plac'd,
Trees, with fruit immortal grac'd ;
Bringing forth, for CHRIST on
high,
Flowers of Life that cannot die ;
With the sweetness that they
bring.
Mortal spirits nourishing.
Filled with GOD, and ever blest,
For our pardon make request !

Egypt, hail, thou faithful strand !
Hail, thou holy Libyan land !
Nurturing for the realm on high
Such a glorious company !
They by many a toil intense,
Chastity and continence,
Perfect men to GOD upreared,
Stars to guide us have appeared :
They, by many a glorious sign,
Many a beam of Power Divine

To the earth's remotest shore
Far and wide their radiance pour.
Holy Fathers, bright and blest,
For our pardon make request !

By what skill of mortal tongue
Shall your wondrous acts be
sung ?
All the conflicts of the soul,
All your struggles towards the
goal ;
And your virtues' prize immense,
And your victories over sense,
How perpetual watch ye kept
Over passion, prayed and wept :
Yea, like very angels came,
Visible in earthly frame,
And with Satan girt for fight
Utterly o'erthrew his might.
Fam'd for signs and wonders rare,
Join to ours, great Saints, your
prayer :

Ask that we, ye ever blest,
May attain the Land of Rest !

We will now take one of the very numerous Canons of S. Joseph of the Studium, and it will be sufficient if we translate it into prose. We will take that for the 2d of January, one of the Proheortiai of the Epiphany. It is alphabetical; a distinction which we will observe. The Hirmoi, here given at length, do not reckon in the acrostichs.

Ode 1.—Hirmos. “ To the LORD, Who dried the pathless and billowy sea by His Divine Command, so that the multitude of the Israelites went on foot through it, to the LORD let us sing : for gloriously is He magnified.”

A s he perceives the Coming of the LORD, forth from the wilderness he goes, the Divine Forerunner, loudly proclaiming : ‘ Redemption is at hand, hath been manifested : repent, and be ye purified with water.’

B egin as I am with the tempest of my sins, O WORD, Co-eternal with the FATHER, cleanse me wholly with the sprinkling of repentance : Thou, Who through Thy measureless loving-kindness, dost ever, by Baptism, bestow Redemption on Thy faithful.

C ome, and, as it is written, O Land of Zebulun, be illuminated, while thou beholdest the inaccessible light ! for lo, it is present by the streams of Jordan ! Hymn the GOD over all, and cry : ‘ Let us sing unto the LORD : for He hath triumphed gloriously !’

D aily spake the God-inspired Forerunner, as he beheld all the people coming to him : ‘ Which of you intendeth to flee from the wrath to come ? Bring forth the fruits of repentance, being saved by Grace !’

Ode 3.—Hirmos. “ Stablish us in Thyself, O LORD, Thou that didst on the Tree destroy Sin : and implant Thy fear in the hearts of us that hymn Thee.”

Exclaimed the Forerunner: 'CHRIST hath appeared, and enters the streams of the Jordan! Let us haste to meet Him, illuminated with pure understandings!'

For Thou didst seek me in my wanderings, O God! Thou didst put on my poverty, and didst make it most rich! Thou, the Ransom of all, didst vouchsafe to be baptized!

God, the Benefactor of all, is baptized: let Heaven and Earth rejoice! He plunges in the deep the multitude of our measureless transgressions.

Ode 4.—Hirmos. "Thou didst come of the Virgin,—no Priest, no Angel, but the LORD Thyself, Incarnate,—and didst save me wholly. Wherefore I say to Thee: Glory to Thy Might, O LORD!"

'**H**ow I marvel, O merciful JESU, at Thy coming!' Thus cries to Thee the greatest Forerunner, as he abaseth himself. 'Thou art a Fire, O LORD: consume me not; me that am called, and that am grass!'

'**I** will to stand in these waters: draw nigh, as thou seest me, O John, and baptize me: that I may work out for the race of men the grace that is by water.'

'**L**o, O my God,' saith John, ashamed, 'I know Thee in the body as a Sun in clouds. How then dost Thou put off Thy garments, as Thou surroundest Thyself with the waters?'

Man's race receiveth illumination and redemption from the darkness that is by sin. And from above it is washed with Divinity, while Thou art stripped of Thy raiment.

Ode 5.—Hirmos. "Thou That art the Supplier of light, Thou That art the Maker of the world, lead us in the light of Thy Commandments! For beside Thee we know no other GOD."

'**N**ow is the Kingdom of GOD at hand; repent ye!' Thus proclaimeth the holy Forerunner who hath appeared from the waste: indignant over us that are laid waste.¹

Old said the Law and the holy band of Prophets; 'CHRIST hath come to form us again by Holy Baptism, us that were grown old through our many sins.'

Passing strange and terrible are the things which John saith to-day. How hath the fountain of immortality come forth from a little drop: put on Baptism!

Ode 6.—Hirmos. "The deepest abyss of transgressions hath enclosed me in! Yet do Thou, O LORD, bring up my life from destruction, as the Prophet Jonas!"

Quell my transgressions, O Lover of men, by raining upon them Thy Grace: Thou That didst, of great mercy, plunge in the streams of Jordan the offences of the sons of earth!

Royal sea of Righteousness! Thou goest forth into the river Jordan, to overwhelm the Dragon and to wash out the transgression of Adam. Saith the Forerunner, glorifying Thy great long-suffering: 'How can the streams of the river contain Thee, O CHRIST, Who art verily the stream of Immortality?'

Ode 7.—Hirmos. "Thy Three Children rebelled against that most unholy commandment touching the golden idol that was to be worshipped in the Plain of Dura. And cast into the midst of the fire, they sang, while bedewed with cool moisture, Blessed art Thou, God of our Fathers!"

¹ In the original, a kind of paranomasia. ἐφάνη ἐκ τῆς δρημίας, τὸν δρημαθέντας ημᾶς ἀγανακτώμενος.

T hou, O CHRIST, whilst enduing with the holy garment me, who had been stripped by the plot of the Wicked One, didst vouchsafe, through the riches of Thy goodness, Thyself to be unclothed, and to enter the water. I will hymn Thy loving-kindness, and will worship Thy marvellous counsel.

* U nutterable, O CHRIST, is the depth of Thy counsel for us! What is Thy poverty? What is Thine ineffable and transcendent condescension? So spake John, when he beheld Thee unclothed, and desiring to be baptized of him.

V isibly, O CHRIST, while Thou didst set on fire Thy majestic frame, as a taper, didst thou seek in mid-Jordan an image, while it rose up and was piled around Thee, of Thy suffering and our sin;¹ and having found it, Thou didst beautify it, O good LORD, with Thy Baptism. Whence we hymn Thee.

Ode 8.—*Hirmos.* “The GOD Who was in the furnace of fire, condescending to the children of the Hebrews, and changing the fire into dew, praise, O ye His works, as LORD, and exalt Him for ever and ever!”

W hile as the Voice of one manifestly crying, thou dwellest, O John, in the wilderness, Thou didst turn deeply repenting hearts to glorify Him That was made manifest in the Jordan, the Saviour and Master.

Y ea! Thou art a torrent of pleasure, Thou That didst form the seas and the fountains! And why goest Thou into the waters? What seekest Thou to wash away, Thou that art the washing and cleansing of all that hymn Thee for ever?

Z ealously didst Thou seek to cool the words of the wickedness of the enemy, and to check the seas of passions, and to well forth to the faithful reconciliation and remission, O LORD! and therefore Thou comest to be baptized in the streams of Jordan.

* J oyfully didst Thou, O Maker of times, become subject to time: and Thou That didst shine forth before time was of Thy Eternal Father, didst take on Thyself to wash out the offences of all men, committed in time, in the streams of Jordan.

O SAVIOUR, when John beheld Thee advancing to him, and asking Baptism from him, he was ashamed and in fear, and dared not even to touch Thee, Who touchest all the mountains, and they smoke.

S o does the swallow foretell the spring, as the Baptist foretold, to them that were in water, the spring of their souls: to them that were always in fear of the might of opposing spirits, and in grievous sufferings.

E ven Thee, Brillancy of the Splendour of the Father, to them that sat in the darkness of fearful ills, O LORD and Sun, Thee, who camest to enlighten all by Thy Holy Baptism, in our hymns we magnify.

P erilously does the axe of death, laid to the root, threaten the cutting down of the tree, when it looks at thy fruitlessness, O my soul! Remain not then fruitless, but cry to GOD, with deep repentance, ‘I have sinned against Thee: save me!’

H oly Voice of him that crieth, it hath been heard in devout hearts. Rejoice! CHRIST is at hand to give repentance to all. Be hallowed, O sea, and fountains, and rivers, and glens, and woods, and everything under the Sun!

¹ This seems the meaning of this difficult passage: a reference to the usual representations of our Lord in his Baptism, with the water swelling up around Him.

² Here begins the acrostich of the composer, Joseph.

We will now conclude our specimens with a Canon which, next to that of S. John Damascene, for Easter-day, is our own favourite; and the authorship of which is rather curiously divided. ‘This Canon, in its 1st, 3d, 4th, and 5th Odes, is the ‘composition of Mark, a monk, and Bishop of Idrus; the ‘acrostich, without the Hirmos, being, καὶ σῆμερον δέ. The ‘others by Cosmas of Hagiopolis,’ [of the Holy City, Jerusalem —the same as Cosmas of Maiuma,] ‘having its acrostich with ‘the Hirmos, Σάββατον μέλπω μέγα. The Hirmoi are the ‘composition of a woman, Cassia by name.’

ODE 1. *Tone 7.**Hirmos.*

‘The children of the ransom’d
Saw, from the shore, the deep-sea wave entomb
The tyrant that pursued,
The tyrant that had bade the earth enfold
The victims of his wrath :
But sing ye to the LORD,—as then they sang,—
Jeshurun’s maiden band :—
“For He hath triumphed gloriously!”’

Troparion.

To Thee, O God and Saviour!
The hymn of exodus,—not less the hymn
Of sepulture, I raise :
To Thee, Who by Thy tomb didst open wide
The gates of life to me :
And by Thy death didst work the death of Death,
By Thy descent to Hell
Didst burst Hell’s gates, and free his bound !

Thee, in the Throne of Glory,
Thee, in Thy resting-place, the heart of earth
Did things above the sky,
Did things of earth and ‘neath the earth, adore ;
Trembling, as Thou dost yield
Thyself a prey to death; O Mystery
Beyond created thought!
O Corpse, O primal fount of Life!

That Thou might’st render all things
The vessels of Thy glory, Thou wast laid
Deep in the cavern-tomb,
Didst visit thence the lowest parts of earth :
My substance was not hid
From Thee, and by Thy sepulture, Thou gav’st
New, better, life to that
Corrupt and lost in Adam’s fall. |

Catavasia.

The children of the ransomed.

ODE 3.

Hirmos.

‘Thee, Who upon the waters hang’st the earth,
Thyself creation saw
Hanging on Calvary :
And, in her agony of terror spake,

"None, none save Thee is holy," was her cry,
"Lover of men, O LORD Most High!"

- Troparion.*
- The symbols of Thy tomb Thou gav'st to view;
The secrets of Thy might,
To them whom Hades held.
Thou, in Theandric¹ virtue, madest plain:
"None, none save Thee is holy," was their cry,
"Lover of men, O LORD Most High!"
- Thou, stretching forth Thy hands, didst so unite
The things as yet apart;
Thou, in the grave-clothes bound,
Didst loose the prisoner, shackled by his sins.
"None, none save Thee is holy," was his cry,
"Lover of men, O LORD Most High!"
- By tomb and seal, Thou, Uncontainable!
Wast of free-will contained:
The glories of Thy might
Thou to the Heavenly Virtues madest known:
"None, none save Thee, is holy," was their cry,
"Lover of men, O LORD Most High!"
- Catavasia.*
- Thou, Who upon the waters.

Tone 1.

Cathisma.

The soldiers, Lord, kept watch and ward
Around thy tomb:
Angelic light flashed clear and white
Amidst the gloom:
Astonied, they like dead men lay
In terror and dejection;
While seraph-voices bade rejoice,
And told the Resurrection.
Yea, we laud and worship Thee,
Ender of mortality!
As to-day Thou didst arise,
Only good and only wise!

Glory. Both now. The soldiers, LORD, kept watch and ward. (*again.*)

These examples may assist in giving our readers some idea of the general character and type of Eastern Hymnology; and heartily glad shall we be, if the foregoing article shall help to send any student to the Pentecostarion or Triodion for themselves. The Ex-Prince, Gagarine,—though, like all renegades, none too favourably disposed to the Church of his Baptism, yet nevertheless, in his pamphlet,—*La Russie sera-t-elle Catholique?*—speaks of the admirable arsenal of orthodox answers to be found in Eastern hymns, on account of their dogmatic character. It is so:—and those who mourn over the intolerably vague lax theology of modern English preachers,

¹ This expression could scarcely, in the sequence of thought where it occurs, have been used after the Sixth Ecumenical Council.

even of those who mean to be orthodox, might well recommend the study of these venerable poems as a corrective of unintentional heterodoxy, and untheological, unscholarlike formulae of expressions. They *will* be known some day; and fifty years hence, should any one, in turning over an old set of *Christian Remembrances*, stumble on the present article, he will probably have no feeling but that of simple astonishment, that it was, in 1859, necessary to direct attention to the Canons and Stichera of the Eastern Church, as to a subject then almost unknown to English readers.

ART. III.—*Civilized America.* By THOMAS COLLEY GRATTAN, late Her Britannic Majesty's Consul for the State of Massachusetts. London : Bradbury and Evans.

WHEN Touchstone is asked his opinion of pastoral life, he thus lucidly delivers himself of the results of his philosophic observation, and sums up his experience: ‘Truly, shepherd, in respect of itself, it is a good life; but in respect that it is a shepherd’s life, it is naught. In respect that it is solitary, I like it very well; but in respect that it is private, it is a very vile life. Now, in respect that it is in the fields, it pleaseth me well; but in respect that it is not in the court, it is tedious. As it is a spare life, look you, it fits my humour well; but as there is no more plenty in it, it goes much against my stomach.’ Just such nice discrimination, such close and delicate distinctions, such balanced and guarded conclusions on the life it undertakes to delineate, characterise the work before us, and by the same process of noting where the real strength of epithet lies, may we arrive at each speaker’s true opinions, setting down all the compliment as an expression of philosophic liberality, a complacent display of candour; the censure as alone the voice of the heart and inclination. Perhaps we may carry the parallel still further and say that, just as the wittiest of fools was scarcely suited to judge fairly of the remote and contemplative life he was analysing, which, though ‘naught,’ ‘vile,’ ‘tedious,’ and counter to *his* stomach, might, nevertheless, be an excellent life in itself, the fault of his distaste lying, at least in part, in his own discursive turn of thought, and over-activity of brain; so Mr. Grattan’s previous education of mind and habits of life may have disqualified him from entering into the spirit of what he saw: of judging fairly of the new life into which he was thrown, or of correctly estimating, or even understanding the distinctive characteristics of a great people, intent on wholly different objects and pursuits from those which had conclusively occupied himself, and which he therefore alone thought worthy of interest.

In fact, we cannot but regard this ponderous work, of two thick volumes, as a double mistake, and as bringing to light a complicated blunder. Mr. Grattan having once been a British consul in the United States, has, in his own person, wronged both good feeling and national interest by writing and publishing

such a book ; and he shows us very distinctly that his original appointment was a great error : the selection altogether a bad one, and flagrantly unsuitable. Whatever it might have been considered at the time, we now see that a worse adaptation could scarcely have been found than the man for the office, in spite of a certain leaning to the theory of democracy which may have been set forth as a qualification. A merely literary man, the writer of now forgotten tales, and unsuccessful plays, whose *dilettante* politics are not of the sort to influence his practice or his preferences ; who can see nothing but what is sordid in all the concerns of commerce, and every mercantile question, however large and important to the prosperity of great nations ; who writes as if he valued a certain *savoir vivre* beyond all practical or theoretical powers of thought, and esteemed himself and others, by a real or fancied success in drawing-rooms ; a man who is equally proud of his specialities and deficiencies ; who is contemptuous to religious zeal, ignorant of science, indifferent to all questions of philanthropy, internal government, and social institutions ; who can so little square his principles and his likings that the one are uniformly at variance with the other ; withal —we gather—of an indiscreet tongue, and querulous temper ; for such a man to be established as the representative of Great Britain in Boston, among the keen, clear-sighted, Yankees *par excellence*, does seem about as strong an instance of a man out of place as could well be devised. Of course he did not get on with them ; of course he did not like them ;—equally, of course, though he does not say so, they did not like him. It is very clear that he soon wore out his welcome, which, by his own showing, was a cordial one. Perhaps neither party could well help this ; but Mr. Grattan is determined that the false position shall be permanent, the mistake irremediable ; that the sting shall rankle and fester in the wound ; and so, having hated the Bostonians for being cold-hearted, economical, devoted to business, and satisfied with themselves, and no doubt for being blind to the merits of Mr. Grattan, he thinks it consistent with the office he held, and the kindly relations it was his duty to maintain as far as in him lay, to publish a book full of unfriendly strictures on the people he had become acquainted with only in his official capacity ; embodying every irritation, sneer, captious detraction, and more sober disparagement, which grew out of irksome years spent in their society. Surely a man proves himself to have been unfit for a public position who revenges himself for the spites and annoyances of private intercourse in this fashion.

Whether such scruples would, under other circumstances, have had weight we cannot tell. No doubt he felt it impossible to

publish his strictures while his son and successor held the office of Consul at Boston; now he is succeeded by Mr. Lousada this restraint is removed. We infer besides, that Mr. Grattan's irritation has been growing all through the period intervening between personal experience and utterance from the ill success of a course of investments in American securities, all of which have proved losing concerns, though we are assured each speculation was entered into (just as we do those things in England) under the auspices of the best advice. A cause of provocation very apt to break through delicacy of feeling, and to exasperate old grudges; only we would suggest to a man whose pride it is that he knows nothing of business, that it would have been his wisdom to keep out of such affairs altogether, and be satisfied with the legitimate remuneration of his office.

In spite of the date of the current year on the title-page, this is really an old book. Most of the actual observation is nearly twenty years old—a fact which is hardly made sufficiently apparent to the reader, and which may account for much of the contradiction which perplexes him in every chapter. When Mr. Grattan sailed from England, July 12th, 1839, he evidently planned a work on America, and sedulously wrote his impressions and observations as they arose: these he has incorporated into the body of his work, with very little attention to consistency, and generally without explaining when they were written. Thus facts are recorded in one temper, and the comments upon them are given in another; some of these comments being written in America during his seven years residence—some last year. His own personal intercourse with Americans ceased in 1846, when he left their country in the hope of being transferred to some post in Europe. This could not be effected; but he persuaded his original patron, Lord Palmerston, to transfer his consulate to his son; an office which he vacated so recently as can only just have allowed time for the preparation and publication of his father's book. It is thus that the man writes whose professed business it has been to facilitate intercourse between two nations who spring from the same fathers, and speak the same language:—

' Reflection and experience satisfy us that the only true element of union between the Old and New World is a common interest. To maintain that in every fair and honourable way should be the leading policy of both; to acknowledge it frankly their pride; for it is reasonable as it is true, creditable as it is natural. What more so than such a partnership between two nations? And how useless the feigned assumption of a congeniality which would not form a tie half so strong or binding? The members of a mercantile firm do not, and need not, love each other with brotherly love; but they hold together for mutual benefit when family attachments are often and often torn asunder. Sympathy has no existence between America and England.

No powers of steam or electricity can convey a spark of it above or below the ocean. * * * I hope to see those futile efforts abandoned altogether; that the mockeries of "brother Jonathan," and "our cousins," may fall into disuse; that England and America may, if they like the familiarity, respectively call each other "John Bull" and "Uncle Sam," the national jocose appellatives; that all whining and coaxing appeals to sympathies and sentiments may be renounced, and the plain, sound, language of common sense be used, to point out the mutual advantage of fair play and honest conduct in the transaction of a gigantic business for reciprocal profit. America would respect us the more, and not like us the less. She cannot and will not love us. She disbelieves our praise and despises our advice. And who after all can be surprised at her incredulity or her arrogance?

'America knows well that for seventy years England has viewed her commercial progress with mixed feelings of astonishment and jealousy, her political institutions with dislike; her social organization with disdain. A shrug, a frown, or a sneer were the outward and visible signs of what England thought and felt. Did she conceal her thoughts and feelings? No. On the contrary, no opportunity was lost in giving them utterance, and that in no measured phrase. The style of all the travellers, tourists, or essayists, whether in books, reviews, or newspapers of any influence, was in unison. Blame and ridicule formed the staple of all those; and the few who accorded faint praise, or larded with overstrained encomium, utterly failed to produce any countervailing effect.

'This is plain truth, evident and undeniable. It was all perfectly natural. Why not avow, or why attempt to excuse it? These were the true sentiments of England in reference to America. Time has modified them no doubt. Partial improvement has rendered them inapplicable to an altered state of things. But is there not enough left for censure and for sarcasm? I think there is; so do all English observers whose experience has been contemporaneous with or even later than mine. It is therefore in vain that benevolent or interested attempts are made to delude the Americans into a belief in the sincerity of unlimited admiration, on the part of any English subject who really knows the entire working of institutions which are in theory admirable, and in practice of great but still imperfect utility.'—Vol. ii. pp. 175—177.

Mr. Grattan's logic here is as much at fault as his temper. He proves that the Americans had reason at one time to be offended at the tone of the mother country, and argues from it that they are insatiable of unbounded flattery and laudation. By his own showing, America is civilizing in those points which first awoke English ridicule; while, on the other hand, intercourse has improved the feeling of England towards America, and yet regards the friendly efforts of both sides as utterly futile. He must know that the language which amused English readers even thirty years ago, would be received with displeasure and mistrust now, and yet maintains that the same sentiment remains. What good, we should like to know, does he propose to himself by thus holding men to what they have said in an unfriendly spirit, and establishing it as an axiom that unkindness and sarcasm can never be forgiven? How, we would ask, could,—not neighbour nations and brother races,—but own brothers and

next-door neighbours, live in amity if they acted on these principles? Indeed, the person who argues that any of the concerns of life, where man has to act with man, can get on better without friendly feeling, at once proves himself, in our estimation, incompetent to treat of social questions; and where he records his own want of success, and resents his failures, we only see an inevitable consequence of a certain turn of mind exhibiting itself in a corresponding line of conduct. It is not that we dispute that the Americans have national vanity—and that circumstances may make the quality morbid in its development; we believe all nations are vain, only the old-established ones are more quietly complacent. But it is not this quality which makes them dissatisfied with extorted praise joined with hearty disparagement. Communities, like individuals, wish to be *liked*; human nature has a craving for sympathy and affection, and can be satisfied with nothing less. No praise which does not embody this testimony of the heart is of any real lasting worth; we are not so constituted as to care for it; while a great deal of fault-finding will be tolerated where we detect sympathy at bottom. And yet, how hard it is for nations to like one another! Who do the English like? Writers like Mr. Grattan speak as if Europe were one country, with the same habits, social economy, and ways of thinking; one vast society. Yet, what names we call one another! what accusations we mutually bring! One charge he brings against Americans—a favourite clincher of many others, as though it were an idiosyncrasy—is that they want *heart*; that their civilities are not cordial; their hospitalities are an affair of vanity, or deliberation; their intercourse with one another cold-blooded.

This is, in fact, the commonest of all charges brought by one nation against another; and, therefore, uniformly to be received in any sweeping sense with distrust. What country is there that does not think itself the exclusive possessor of real deep feeling? The mercurial temperaments pronounce the phlegmatic without it, because they show *nothing*; these, on the other hand, sneer at their lively rivals, because they are superficial and show *all*. Whether boasted of as a national attribute, or the want of it made a national charge, such assumptions must be received with the most sceptical caution. Who of those who claim for England the patent of genuine warmth of heart see it abounding in their own immediate sphere? The same man who will rail at an American or an Italian for his social sins, we shall often find on anything but good terms with his English neighbours,—thinking himself, probably, unlucky in his neighbourhood, having an abstract idea of British perfection which he *never* finds realized, never will find, for every man's own neighbourhood is

the bit of nationality he knows best, and what, if he had the gift of calm penetration, he could best judge from. On this subject, especially, when reading of countries with which we are ourselves unacquainted, by persons of whom we know nothing, we must be on our guard in our reception of their statements and impressions; so much *must* depend on the temper, qualities, and *agrémens* of the writer. Let us sometimes say to ourselves, if this person were suddenly set down in our own circle, by our own hearth, should we be cordial to him; should we press our civilities upon him, and from these proceed naturally to intimacy and friendship? and if the answer is doubtful, if we trace cynicism, or any ungenial quality, let us not blame others if they have betrayed backwardness at starting, or the still greater, more unpardonable offence, of retreating from civilities once paid.

When Mr. Grattan first landed in America, the people of Boston, out of respect to the man—for he intimates that his literary reputation preceded him—and his office, received him with hospitality. *Strangers*, thus circumstanced, should receive the kindness as feeling themselves on trial. It is absurd to suppose such demonstrations to mean more than overtures; there can be no real friendship or esteem in a first acquaintance. The entertainer commits himself to no more than his act of welcome; but here it is made a grievance, a fault on their side alone, that, after seven years, they did not like Mr. Grattan as much as they did at first. It *may* be so; but there is nothing in the bare facts to prove it. It was their duty to receive him well; but there is an end to all hospitality to strangers if there can be no retreat from first advances.

' And analogous to this feeling (awakened by the *mirage*) is the moral reaction which oppresses almost all Europeans who remain in this country for more than a short period. At first, they see everything in bright and flattering hues. Vivacity of manners, professions of regard, dinner parties, and balls, look like sincerity, friendship, and hospitality. But the erroneous impression is soon dissipated. The astonished stranger, who has believed himself revelling in the cordial enjoyments of the old world, is quickly satisfied of his mistake. He is painfully taught that he felt through a false medium; that the chains which had bewitched him lay only on the surface of society. That the roses which gave their hue to everything had no root in the soil. That the affections in America are without any solid basis. That men are too much absorbed in self to enter on the cultivation of the nobler feelings. And that even women are so driven by the force of things from the impulses of their nature as to have little more than the semblance of those generous qualities which elevate them, in other parts of the world, to the very height of human excellence.'—Vol. i. p. 47.

Our author's main experience of America is of Boston; and, probably, because he has seen the most of that city, it stands lowest in his esteem: his fashionable tastes are meeting constant rubs in this sober, business-loving place. But the picture

is not in itself repulsive. He complains, for instance, of 'the unrefined habits of the people carrying early hours to a ridiculous extent.' They breakfast at seven; and all their evening engagements end at twelve. If all are agreed to keep these hours, we really can't see the hardship of them; nor can one climate dictate the hours of another. He constantly charges them with narrow ideas of expense. 'Having no spring of sociability in their hearts, they are glad of any excuse for living on a mean and thrifty scale in the routine of their homely occupations.' Really, after hearing so much of American extravagance of late, we welcome the idea of economy and thrift as attaching to any locality. The people of Boston boast of their pure English descent; he grants that 'all the social sympathies of the people are English,' but they are *old English*,—'exclusive, narrow, selfish.' He admits that there is no lack of kind manners; 'on the contrary, there is a good deal of general civility, an almost universal good temper, or command of temper, which comes to the same thing, and an abundance of superficial attentions.' Indeed, he says, as a sort of disparagement, that small instances of kindness are more numerous in America 'than in those countries where powerful impulses absorb the mind, and leave it no leisure for the *pétits soins* of life.' He laments over their deficiency of benevolence in a general, extended sense, but qualifies the charge by noting the 'happy absence of wretchedness and destitution among the working classes.' Nor does he deny 'numerous charitable institutions'; but attributes these 'to a judicious system of government rather than spontaneous philanthropy.' We may be slow in giving credit to the charge of want of natural kindness where the lower class are all well off, and where provision is made for accidental distress and want, by whatever machinery provided. He complains of their sordid caution, and will not allow them any elevation of mind; but his proofs do not convince us. He first charges them with want of forethought, and then says that what they have has always taken a downward direction.

'Even when the people talk of lofty destinies, they educate for reverse of fortune, loss of property, a depressed position. They do not prepare for a rise in station, or with elevation of mind. Boys are taught hardships for the rough work of life; girls are brought up with a view to going down. They are practised in the menial duties of household work, prepared for a change, not for the better, but the worse, and taught, rationally perhaps, a somewhat stingy prudence, instead of a refining, but possibly a deceptive, elegance.'—Vol. ii. p. 470.

Mr. Grattan's theory is that perfect manners cannot exist under a perfect government. That elegance and refinement

are incompatible with the greatest happiness of the masses. His quarrel with the higher and educated classes of Americans is, that they will not all see this, that they will aim at an ideal absolutely beyond their reach; and waste their lives in futile aspirations. He bids them not ‘attempt the high tone of English manners, nor the overstrained refinements of a class which ‘could not exist without an inferior multitude to lord it over.’ In Boston, from his report of it as he knew it twenty years ago, and as these passages show, republican simplicity predominates; the masses are happy, and their wealthy employers are homely in their habits; but neither does this satisfy him. While believing democracy the ideal government calculated to secure for its subjects the greatest amount of liberty, and all the material blessings of life; and while full of sarcasms at a grasping oligarchy and the evils and injustice of our social inequalities, he yet carefully shows that these are the only conditions in which a gentleman can enjoy himself; nay, in which a gentleman can be made. That, in fact, society is like ‘bread stuff,’ you may separate the fine flour from the bran, and have white bread and brown; or you may mix altogether into the homely household loaf, and live content in wholesome mediocrity.

Now, we will not believe that real civilization, all that is worth educating for and aiming at in manners, is inconsistent with the general weal, nor does Mr. Grattan’s work at all persuade us out of our conviction. Himself an Irishman, he really knows very little of England: speaking as he does with complacency of his twenty years’ experience of foreign society previous to his residence in America. All his comparisons therefore of the ‘masses’ of the two countries must be mainly guess-work and inference. When he speaks of the ‘servility and the degrading impulses superinduced by want’ in the poor of Europe—the British Isles inclusive—contrasting these with the sturdy independence of the lower orders in the United States, we are convinced the great working classes in our own country have never come under his consideration, have probably never once occupied his thoughts. Ourselves believing in a constitutional monarchy as the best form of government, we are quite willing to grant that manners must assume their really best form under its influences. What Mr. Grattan so often, however, indicates as his *beau ideal*—the polish won by a few at so large a cost of human happiness and virtue—is a thing rather of foreign growth, of intimacy with courts, and certainly what no nation need be ashamed to want. After all, where we agree with Mr. Grattan in his strictures, we do not see that forms of government are mainly concerned. Certain domestic arrangements need to be set to rights; some social changes such

as we cannot but think friendly and sympathetic intercourse with the mother country may gradually effect; for we know that Americans are themselves becoming alive to them.

We have already alluded to the little pains our author takes to reconcile his statements. In reason this is not to be complained of, and no doubt we attain a better notion of his real opinion than if he had set himself to produce a seeming accordance. In any new scene we are liable to contradictory impressions. So it is only where an evident object in view, a case to make out, or a grudge to satisfy is discernible, that we quarrel seriously with the practice. A few instances will show what we mean.

On manners, he says in one place,

'Manners in the United States are of this nature. There is no standard for them, from the want of a permanent class in society to be looked up to and imitated. As the whole of its ingredients are mixed and incongruous, almost each individual follows his natural bent; and we find in the same circles most striking contrasts of style—"every one" being, as might be said, "his own gentleman."—Vol. i. p. 190.

A few pages before we find,

'There is very little originality in the American mind; and not much variety in the national manners, except in some occasional specimens of a keen "down-easter,"—the Sam Slick genus—or a rough "far-wester,"—of the Colonel Crocket school. The sameness among people in the Atlantic cities is perfectly tiresome.'—Vol. i. p. 124.

'The whole human family met with in the Atlantic cities seems not only cut out of the same piece, but often of the same pattern.'

Of their natural powers he says:

'I maintain that the American people are the most clear-sighted and intelligent in the world,' and 'that there is no parallel on earth to their system of equalized well-being.'

Yet for this people he insists that only a medium civilization is practicable; that their country may be a paradise of mediocrity, but nothing more, confining them rigidly to 'a medium quality in mind and manners, respectability of talent, moderate acquirements, and unpresuming tastes.' (Vol. i. p. 22.) In America

'Superiority of intellect is, in fact, a curse not a blessing to its possessor.'—Vol. i. 278.

He spends chapters in exposing the discontent of the wealthier classes at being cut off from the distinctions their wealth would procure for them in the Old World; and yet we find him, in another place, thus summarily dismissing the subject:

'This creates, of course, great jealousy and much heart-burning. But all things considered, I am still disposed to believe that there is a much greater amount of general contentment here than elsewhere.'—Vol. i. p. 124.

This book is written to show the inferiority of American civilization, and yet he charges those who would assimilate their country to Europe, ‘the leading classes in social position, as ‘well as the chief leaders in political life,’ as ‘deeply infected ‘with the disease of European tendencies.’

After disparaging, in the coolest terms and on various occasions, the value of the profuse hospitality he himself received from Americans, we shall find him devoting pages of indignation on Webster because he did not make the civilities he had received in England the staple of his speech on his return to his own country. He brings a constant charge of change of opinion against their public men, drawing inferences very much against their probity; then he proceeds to say, they *must* change if they are to do anything; that the main questions are experiments not principles, and that it is perfectly excusable, nay, necessary, to abandon theories which cannot be made facts.

After stating that the Americans have no great passions—or only the passion for change; that they have even no love of country; that no one in the Northern states ever died for love; that a generous affection even is very rare, he takes the line of proving marriages an affair of interest: and argues as much from the two facts that the husband never expects fortune with his wife, and bears disappointment in his expectations with serenity. In the one case it is the pride of authority and the pride of trade which forbid it; in the other, the mercantile view he originally took of the conjugal tie: all is traced to the love of money.'

‘I must say, that the disappointment frequently following the hopes of a large fortune with a wife, never, I believe, leads to ill-treatment on the part of the husband. It is looked on as an unlucky speculation, or a bad debt, falling on the firm, of which the woman has become joint partner. As such she suffers her share of chagrin, but no more. The marriage having been a matter of trade, its vicissitudes, be they what they may, are nothing more nor less than so much profit or loss, of which each party reaps the benefit or bears the burden, share and share alike.’—Vol. ii. p. 68.

Common sense seems to us to suggest a kinder comment, and to infer that where the result is so good, good motives have been at work. In a like system of blundering disparagement, he at one time makes love of the soil the highest form of patriotism, and at another an inferior instinct. The men ‘have no love ‘to country.’

‘He knows nothing of the ties which bind the denizens of the Old World to the home of his fathers. Patriotism with the American is not a passionate regard for the soil and its associations; it is a mere abstract notion made up of personal interest, prejudice, and pride, and falsely denominated love of country because the dictionary calls it so.’—Vol. ii. p. 99.

But the women *have* this sentiment; he complains of their home sickness as an affectation, after quarrelling with the term

itself as suggestive of a sea voyage and other unpleasant associations, and evidencing the vulgarity of the American vocabulary.

'I fear this boasted passion of American women for their birthplace is but a forced effort of sentimentality. It is at best an epidemic, another instance of the want of originality in the American mind. And admitting it to exist in some cases—for there are no doubt exceptions to the general pretext of its existence—it is strongly indicative of coldness in the American female heart. Love of country or of kindred is at best but a secondary passion in comparison with the love of husband and of children. The woman of true sentiment finds her home where *they* are; their country is her country, and their people are her people. But wanting that higher order of attachment, she may possibly possess the inferior kind in question. Deficient in affection, she may be strong in adhesiveness, and she may be fond of place in proportion as she is indifferent to person.'—Vol. ii. p. 78.

There are numerous like instances where, less ingenuous than Dr. Fell, who could dislike and frankly give no reason, he is thus moved to find reasons contradictory or at random for a feeling contracted on quite other grounds. Of course there may be good cause for dislike when it is not easy to give the reason; and many people are reasonable in their prejudices who are unreasonable in their alleged grounds for them; but we only point out these cases as examples of our author's very peculiar notions of cause and effect.

His grounds of commendation are sometimes equally singular. On the question of domestic servants (chap. xv. vol i.) in America, on which hitherto all parties, native and foreign, have been agreed, he reverses the general judgment by a process of induction of his own; and proves, not from facts, but theory, that the American help *must* be the best servant in the world. He starts with the statement that service is degradation. In America there is less acknowledgment of service than in Europe, therefore less sense of degradation. Insolence generally proceeds from sensitiveness; a sensitive mind must now and then rebel against the ignominy of service, and therefore must now and then indulge in insolence at all costs. The American mind is not sensitive, therefore not insolent. The merits of American helps, as he states them, are personal economy, yet they dress like their mistresses; regularity, but to hours of their own fixing; good conduct, but they are the object of constant mistrust to their masters and mistresses; the least sensible of degradation of any class of servants in the world, as (in contradistinction we suppose to English servants) not conscious of having forfeited their self-respect, yet growing every year more jealously suspicious of their position: to these merits he subjoins the general statements, that a servant 'that will make herself useful, and turn her hand to all things out of regard for the family, is almost unknown in Yankee

'Land.' That they have no attachment to their employers, and their employers no confidence in them; and that the relation 'creates an antagonistic influence which soon amounts to dis-like.' To which are added personal experiences of servants leaving at a moment's warning, and of bad Sunday dinners due to the cook's religious prejudices and chapel-going propensities, for which our author has very little sympathy.

Perhaps the following passage will put our readers in a position to understand our author's peculiarities, without multiplying instances of what seems self-contradiction. We find from it that it is no part of his creed that good trees bring forth good fruit. He can hold a theory intact and without a misgiving, and at the same time set himself deliberately to prove its failure. If manners make the man (and certainly the proverb must be believed in by him), the whole gist of his book is to show that American manners are lowest in that social scale, of which he has any experience, yet he never retracts his faith in democracy as the best government in the world. After all, there are many whose hearts are set only on the elegancies of life, who really do think, what Mr. Grattan's line tends to, that agreeable society is worth *any* cost, and that if it can't be procured without the sacrifice of nine-tenths of the human race, the sacrifice must be made. What a hecatomb of victims to servility, oppression, want, and misery, set alight by pride, tyranny, and injustice, does he sometimes represent Europe to be, and yet how infinitely he prefers it to live in than liberty and defective manners! how complacently does he accord the term civilization to this state of things! It is the same with the question of Slavery; he avows a recoil and repugnance to slavery which would more than satisfy the most ardent abolitionist; but how he likes the slave-owners! They are the only gentlemen; they alone have warmth of heart, or generous passions; they alone exercise a liberal hospitality, and know what social life ought to be. The experience of their amiability and good qualities, the conviction even which he professes that the negro race is morally and intellectually inferior, does not modify in the least the fierceness of his denunciations; nor, on the other hand, do these in the smallest degree interfere with his estimate of the sharers in, and perpetrators of, so much iniquity:

'The wholesale difference between the two countries seems to me to be this. Most of the better qualities of man's nature are brought out by the working of things in England, and that as the consequence of our national faults. All the lower qualities are developed in America, in spite of national advantages. Englishmen are at once, in well-balanced degrees, men of business, and politicians. Americans are absorbed by business, and by what they call politics, which is nothing more than a business of a

mean and contracted sort. The mere business occupations of Englishmen would necessarily make them in most respects similar to Americans, were it not that the politics of England are of so elevated a kind that they throw their influence into all the pursuits of life, and raise the community into a lofty and expansive sphere of thought. But as the domestic political questions agitated in America chiefly hinge on some sordid consideration,—almost all being matters of pecuniary profit and loss, such as banks, tariffs, currency, commerce, manufactures,—the nobler aspirations of intellect are dragged down by their attraction, and the trader in politics is of necessity a retail dealer. He sets up his business as another man opens a shop. He only works for the lucre of gain. * * * Many of the evils of the English system are greatly modified, if not entirely obviated by the institutions of America. The oppressions of high rank and its debasing patronage; the subserviency of the middle classes; the degradation of the lower. But, on the other hand, no high-minded motives for action exist. * * * The framers of the republic, in wishing to establish a state of things opposed to the European system, falsely believed that the opposite to wrong must of necessity be right. That is no doubt good logic (*sic*), but it is not practical truth. * * * When Washington, Franklin, and the rest, founded a republic on the ruins of monarchical forms, they should have laboured to bring the people's minds to a level with the new institutions, instead of attempting to uphold the same tone of feeling as that which prevailed under the old ones. They should have adopted a new vocabulary for national topics. Words being only the types of thought, a change of expression should have followed the total change of thought. The standards up to which the new republic should have been taught to act, are probity, industry, justice. Such words as fame, glory, greatness, in their old and general sense, should have been altogether laid aside. They are associated with exaggeration of sentiment, and excess of civilization, out of the comprehension and reach of the New World. The people of America should be taught, that if they will insist upon putting themselves on a par with England, they must take her example for better or worse. They must have her inequalities of rank, with her concentration of power; her debt, with her conquests; her vices with her wealth, her worst ills, in short, with those concomitant glories which dazzle the beholder to blindness.—Vol. ii. p. 95.

Our author's notions of politics as an elevating pursuit have, we see, very little to do with the moral and domestic government of states, the principles which secure for a people internal peace, prosperity, and well-being, in which a man can scarce keep his fingers from the pitch of trade in some of its ramifications; but they refer to whatever gives room for the subtleties of diplomacy, and brings a gentleman into good company and the society of his betters. The American people are not without longings of this sort, if circumstances were not so much against their indulging them; and in a strain of mingled amusement and irritation, a good deal is said against their assumption of an aristocracy,—‘one of those words which ought to be struck out of their vocabulary.’ Of course, it is simply quarrelling with human nature to be angry with people for wishing to rise in the world, but no doubt it is inconsistent with republicanism; and there are some good stories here of bakers and grocers lifting up their heads, and calling

themselves aristocrats ; but all the heat Mr. Grattan expends on the question betrays, we cannot but think, some personal soreness, otherwise we cannot see, with his way of thinking, why he cannot sympathise with aspirations after gentility. Still, words do seem not quite to know themselves in the following passage, which he extracts from a New York paper, in its obituary of a certain Mr. Hone, of 'humble origin':—

'And afterwards engaged in auction and commission business in Pearl Street, always standing at the head of the auctioneers. In the fashionable world Mr. Hone always held a high rank, being always considered a leader of the *ton*. Indeed, it has been said, that if an order of nobility had existed in this country, Mr. Hone would have claimed the right of being numbered in their ranks. His bearing, though courteous towards his fellow-citizens, was aristocratic, and self-confident.'—Vol. i. p. 191.

Fancy the *habitué* of polite European circles receiving the 'aristocratic' courtesies, or 'aristocratic' slights of Mr. Hone, the auctioneer ! The word 'gentlemanly' is as exceptional in its use, being, Mr. Grattan assures us, mainly applied to waiters, hotel-keepers, box-keepers, and railway conductors. As for the real gentleman, he proves by a syllogism that the thing cannot exist in America, as it takes, everybody knows, three generations to make one : 'and such a thing as grandfather, father, and son in 'one family preserving their fortune and station is almost unheard 'of.' But even here we are left in perplexity as to Mr. Grattan's real experience, for he tells us in one place that there is 'a total want of pride of birth in America' (Vol. i. p. 199); and 'no descendants of their great men are looked up to in honour 'of their name,' and in another :—

'A vain emulation of England, and all that is English, is one of the leading features of the Yankee mind. To have had an ancestry is the prevailing point of pride.'—Vol. i. p. 60.

Which accords more with what we read elsewhere. Our readers will remember in 'Dred' a jealous pride in old English descent, nor can we give credit to the absence of so natural a sentiment, though, kept down by the fluctuating fortunes of American cities, and the impossibility to give the weight of territorial importance to a name, there can be comparatively few opportunities for its development. Under such circumstances, wealth must form the real 'aristocracy'; that is, wealth must be the *head*; and we can well believe in some of the anomalies Mr. Grattan has witnessed in privileged and fashionable circles. He dwells much on the discontent that wealth brings, owing to the want of a proper field for its display; and especially for its failing to give political importance. Here he has no sympathy, and is sternly democratic. He rejoices in a 'downward tendency' (Vol. ii. p. 103), 'by no

'means tantamount to national deterioration, but simply a 'descent to a wholesome level.' He charges the upper classes with cabals against the popular supremacy, which they have not spirit to carry out, and twists them with the example of nobler conspirators,—'Coriolanus who scorned the mob, and 'Cataline who bought them up.' 'A tyrant should be brave, 'and a conspirator prodigal. These cotton-spinners of New 'England and New York do a paltry business with a trembling 'hand. Defeat is their desert and their destiny:' with a good deal more of the same Irish vein of eloquence, on the point of men of the best social position standing aloof from the polling booth, the public meetings, the legislature, and the offices of state in sullen discontent. Having thus sunk the country to the desired low level, he seems to tell her she must remain there, saying that it is in keeping with 'the scheme of American progress for its moral greatness to be nearly undeveloped' (Vol. ii. p. 105); and telling her that 'she has to do the labours of the 'world, and all the higher duties of human improvement are 'done for her,' intimating 'that she must be satisfied with 'this for all time, and not emulate a lot more elevated, but less 'happy.' (Vol. ii. p. 106.) A set down to a great people, which would be more keenly felt, if it could be proved that Mr. Grattan had any distinct idea of what was 'moral greatness,' or 'real elevation.' We say this because it is evident that the loftiest hopes and interests of mankind enter very little into his calculations. Science is a dead letter to him; indeed, he boasts of the want of it, and seems to think it low; those who look beneath the surface in Nature being mere utilitarians. His philosophy is confined to its 'speculative' manifestations,—in spirit-rapping, and the more extravagant developments of Mesmerism,—to both of which he gives in his adhesion; and his religion is finely vague, resisting every form of definition or compression. 'I have ever,' he says, 'regarded theological 'disputation with amazement, and sectarian feuds with con- 'tempt. (Vol. ii. p. 337.) He owns to a suspicion of all persons who attend divine service twice on Sunday; he abhors all jealousy of religious belief. Our readers will judge how far he is a competent witness and exponent of the deeper interests of the country he was going to delineate by the following initiatory remarks and inferences on a watering-place service. We do not recommend the waiving of essential differences for the sake of convenience they disclose; but for one who, while aware of the existence of differences, liked their occasional suppression, the language is somewhat bitter, and shows a more blundering ignorance on such topics than we could have supposed consistent with a liberal education:—

' On reaching the little church we were somewhat surprised to see all the hotel lodgers, with many persons from the neighbouring cottages, making their way together,—so many votaries coming to lay their offerings at the same shrine. The plainness of the little chapel, and its utter want of distinctive marks, evidently told it was not sacred to any particular sect; and the simple service which followed,—a prayer, a chapter from the New Testament, a hymn, a sermon, and the parting benediction,—were in all points so free from any allusion to any doctrinal differences, so imbued with the essence of true morality, so catholic in sentiment, that I felt as though transported back to the primitive ages of Christianity, when the priest was personified piety, and religious worship the type of practical virtue. * * * I felt really better for this attendance on worship, which had something divine in it, and I looked round with feelings of respect I can scarcely describe at the congregation which joined so decorously in a service that combined all that seemed required by religion and philosophy.'—Vol. i. p. 56.

After describing the preacher, a German, he goes on:—

' Great as was my admiration in the first instance for all those who formed the congregation of this exemplary person, it was increased tenfold on my being informed that they individually belonged to almost every variety of sect in which Christianity is split, with the exception of Roman Catholicism; and that they gathered together for the performance of their duty, in the little church of Nahant (there being only one in the place), by an understanding that no doctrinal points should be touched on in the service; so that, during the eight or ten weeks which constitute "the season" at this neutral ground, as many clergymen of different persuasions,—the Calvinist, (which is called the Orthodox Church in the United States,) the Unitarian, the Baptist, the Episcopalian, and several et ceteras,—came down on successive Sundays from Boston, free from all the bitterness of theological dissension, and one vying with the other in offering up prayers, and preaching sermons, to which all denominations of believers might conscientiously listen.'—

This state of things made him at once infer that in America there could be no acrimonious opposition of sects:—

' But in forming this conclusion, jumped to I confess too hastily, I was woefully at fault. I very soon found out that this Sabbath assembling at Nahant was a mere meeting of convenience, for decency's sake, a matter of form, to chime in with the general feeling that a Sunday ought not to be passed without going to church, a mere salve on the consciences of those who, in escaping from the heat and the week's labours of the city, could not be content with a cool day of rest, and with the informality of mental devotion, in a place where Nature itself appealed to every religious sentiment. I too soon discovered that in the touching observances of that day, and the others which followed it in like simplicity, not one out of a hundred of the listeners of Dr. Follen and his fellows sympathised in what they heard. No one entered thoroughly into the spirit of these admirable moral discourses, or quite approved of them. For some they were too tame, for others too lax. One hearer wished they were more orthodox, another that they were more episcopal. Nobody, in fact, acknowledged them as particularly speaking their own sentiments, though all might have been proud to claim a participation in them. In one word, this Sabbath service at Nahant is but a mockery. It is not inspired by morality or holiness. It has neither the odour of sanctity, nor the flavour of philosophy.'—Vol. i. p. 56.

How intolerant does ultra-toleration make people! On the subject of religion, to which he devotes a chapter, Mr. Grattan owns it best for him only to skim the surface, confessing himself unequal to the ‘sacred mysteries of Faith, Doctrine, and Doxology.’ As far as he touches it, the favourite principle of see-saw, which is his only approach to candour, rules his pen. The voluntary principle, and the absence of a State Church, show ‘religion in an aspect truly sublime;’ while religion in America, under precisely these auspices, is, as we have just seen, by no means sublime to him. The ‘fanaticism of Puritanism’ is less to his taste than the ‘intolerance of the Roman Catholics.’ Revivals ‘bring disgrace and shame upon ‘the very name of religion.’ ‘The *odium theologicum* is perpetually in action, and rival sects hate one another;’ but ‘society is not seriously damaged by theological divisions that can in no way affect political interests.’ ‘Thousands of men,’ —‘for the most part heartless hypocrites,—enter into holy orders as a speculation, trusting to the exciteable element in ‘the American mind to live on the weakness and wretchedness ‘of their dupes.’ But ‘assuredly Christianity, in its largest ‘and best sense, has not suffered in America from state in- dependence; in no country of the world is there more religious fervour than in America, and nowhere a more strict ‘observance of forms.’ After a few more sentences on this pattern, with a testimony to Dr. Channing’s preaching, he passes off to dwell at comparative length on Millerism and Shakerism, having previously given his experience of a popular preacher amongst ‘the Bashi-bazouks of theology.’ We English are derided and upbraided so much for our dull sermons that it is not amiss now and then to learn how the evil is obviated in other communions, and therefore we venture to extract our author’s sermon-notes on Elder Knapp’s discourse:—

‘He now began, with a most comical leer and a jocular air, to teach his hearers the folly of pride, and to give an instance of its humiliation. This moral was conveyed through the medium of a story, of which the hero and the heroine were a certain Colonel, “off in the far West,” and his wife. These, it appeared, were a very proud, though not an irreverent pair. They approved of Elder Knapp’s doctrine, acknowledged themselves of his congregation, lent him a large barn for his preachings, but would on no account consent to disgrace themselves by walking through the only way which led to it—a building known as the “Pork-House,” where the slaughtered animals hung up in large numbers, preparatory to the process of salting—long resisting the persuasions of the Reverend Elder to renounce their obstinate objection. The sketch given by the preacher of this stiff-necked Colonel, and his equally unmanageable helpmate, the way in which they rejected his imploring appeals that they would humble themselves, by going through the degrading passage to the temporary place of prayer, the various emphatic intonations with which he pronounced their dogged determination not to go “through the pork-house”—“No, indeed, they would *not* go

through the pork-house"—“They wouldn’t go *through* the pork-house.”—“Others might, but *they* wouldn’t go through the pork-house.”—“They *wouldn’t* go through the pork-house”—was irresistibly ludicrous. Some smiled, many tittered, but the majority of the audience laughed outright. In the words of the French reports of debates in the *Chambre des Députés*, in the good old times of constitutional government, there was *hilarité générale dans la chambre*; and when the climax came of the gradual yielding of the recusant Colonel and his wife before the triumphant efforts of the Elder to soften their obdurate breasts, and they actually *did* walk arm-in-arm through the obnoxious pork-house to attend the service, I expected every moment a burst of boisterous applause.’—Vol. ii. p. 344.

But passing from Mr. Grattan’s views and opinions, we may now proceed to his actual observations. Not that the one can actually be separated from the other; for men *see* as well as judge according to their prejudices. Still, people who have seen with their own eyes, who have had actual experience, have such an advantage over those who have not, that if they do not wilfully deceive, we must, with due use of our own judgment, learn much from them. One point that he brings out with unusual consistency, which struck him at first, and which impresses him still, is the power of the American people to act in concert; a love of order and discipline which shows them to advantage on all public occasions. This feature came out as soon as he set foot on board an American steamer. There was no pushing and squeezing; ‘a spirit of forbearance seemed to pervade the ‘whole; the passengers defiled from the deck to the quay with ‘the steadiness of a regiment on parade; everybody seemed to ‘be perfectly drilled.’ Even the national reproach was conducted with propriety:—

‘They walked in straight lines, sat erect on the stools or benches, smoked their cigars, and spat on the upper, and chewed their quids and spat on the lower deck; or read their newspapers and spat in the cabin, and had their “drinks,” and spat in the bar, with marvellous regularity. It was, take it all in all, a most curious specimen of living mechanism, completed and brought into action by the irresistible force of public opinion and general habit. But the first aspect of this monotony was imposing, and it created a certain feeling of respect, which being partaken by each individual in regard of his fellows, was sure to be returned to him by the mass. The total absence of every thing discourteous, of quarrelling, disputation, and cursing, of vehement language or violent gesticulation, gave to every group of talkers the air of a knot of business-men transacting their affairs.’—Vol. i. p. 26.

And in his concluding remarks, he thus sums up his experience:—

‘The Americans appear to me to possess beyond all other people, the instinct of discipline. I mean this in the highest sense, according to the distinction pointed out by the Duke of Wellington, in one of his letters,—“Habits of obedience to orders, as well as military instruction.” This peculiarity extends in a very extraordinary degree through the portions of the country which I have visited; and its development has decided me in

ranking the United States among the military nations of the earth. • • Obedience to authority is supposed, by superficial observers, to be repugnant to the spirit and practice of the American people. This is a great mistake, and I account for it by believing, that those who formed the opinion have only had in view the positive and, at times, obstinate resistance offered by the people at large to certain encroachments of executive power, or to judicial decisions which the general sense pronounced to be unjust.' • • —Vol. ii. p. 448.

After attributing to the good sense of the people the successful working of the Federal Constitution, which its framers issued with little confidence—a constitution originally designed for four millions of men, which now works for the government of more than thirty millions—and after a hit at their leaders, and public men, who are his constant object of attack, he goes on:—

'Indeed, the greater my experience of the country, the more did I esteem the masses, and the less did individuals seem to merit regard. It is certainly in public that the national character appeared to most advantage—at large meetings, political or otherwise, at great festivals, in steamboats, railroad trains, &c.; and the thing which of all others was the most striking and most wonderful to me was that instinct of discipline by which the greatest portion of the general good is established and maintained. This pervading quality may be seen through all the social system. Beginning with the immense concourses which are brought together during election times, such as I have described in a preceding chapter, many thousands meet together, are regularly organized like military bodies, divided into platoons, companies, battalions, brigades, under the command of "marshals;" and thus commanded, these large bodies manœuvre and disperse with an order and regularity as complete as any army at a review. Interruptions, or accidents of the slightest kind, are extremely rare on these occasions. The spirit of subordination is perfect, and is a guarantee against all harm. It is the same with regard to public entertainments. On such occasions, the Americans are not satisfied, as with us, that each individual should buy his ticket and repair to the banquet-hall as best suits his convenience. With them, a certain parade-ground is always fixed on, where the president of the feast, his assistants, invited guests, and all who hold tickets by purchase, are called on by advertisement to assemble; and being duly marshalled into proper order, they march, preceded by a band of music, to the dining place, through the most public thoroughfares. It has been my lot to walk in these processions, which are by no means confined to military celebrations. I have had for my right and left hand file, Judge Story, Governor Everett, the venerable ex-president John Quincy Adams, and other distinguished civilians, on such occasions, and I have invariably remarked the precision with which they all attended to the keeping of time and distance, and the other duties of the drill.'—Vol. ii. p. 450.

Here we must acknowledge an absolute departure from the old type. Institutions have worked a change in what we fancied a feature in the Anglo-Saxon race, when once trained to a sense of independence. We do not boast of it, it is a peculiarity which spoils all our attempts at effect, but who has not observed what a shambling, shuffling, sheepish concern is a procession of English gentlemen: every one ashamed of his place and his part, and looking as if he was striving to hide

himself from a pitiless storm of imaginary eyes, while really resenting the infringement on his absolute liberty of movement and his morbid susceptibility to restraint. Such pictures as these seem to throw a light on the passing of the Maine Law, and other unintelligible facts of American doings.

' Large public balls are conducted with much the same management. Committees are formed to supervise each particular branch of the matter in hand. * * Let us next look at the management of the hotels and inns, great and small, and of the boarding-houses, which abound throughout the country. In every one of these establishments rules are made with a severity, and observed with a strictness, which would be remarkable anywhere, but which, in a country of such boasted independence, are truly surprising. The master of the hotel very often a colonel or major in the militia (titles that are frequently borne even by the bar-keepers), is a perfect despot. He fixes and changes hours, orders his waiters, and controls his customers, with an air of command that might be supposed to arise from his military rank; but the merest old woman who is mistress of a boarding-house exercises an equal amount of authority. The most arbitrary and capricious regulations are submitted to by the lodgers with a deference that is at times laughable. They fly to the sound of the gong or bell with the forced alacrity of soldiers, rushing from the barrack rooms at the bugle's call. To be a minute late for any meal seems looked on as a breach of duty. The ease, comfort, or convenience of individuals is never thought of in the arrangements of the house. Gentlemen are removed from one room to another without their consent being asked, and often in defiance of their wish. Every one submits, if not cheerfully, at least without remonstrance, to the rules for the general convenience. * * In all public institutions or private places of business, in schools, poor-houses, hospitals, prisons, workshops, or factories, the military system of tactics is universally observed. I remember, on one occasion, when I accompanied the directors of a house of correction for females on their inspection, observing with admiration the clever manner in which the head matron conducted her scores of women-prisoners, as though they were soldiers on parade. "Ah, sir," said one of my conductors, "she is the true grit, and no mistake. Yes, sir, Mrs. Kidder is considerable of a General Bony part, more than any lady I ever met with anywhere."—Vol. ii. p. 451.

Perhaps this instinct of combining and acting in concert may interfere with originality of character, and power of individual action. We are willing to believe it, or the people who possess it would become too powerful among the nations. Part of it may proceed from the publicity of their lives, their gregarious habits, the custom of assembling in numbers and doing things together. Their need for privacy, certainly, is not equal to our own. We have a sense of impatience or unsuitableness in a crowd which can hardly belong to people who so constantly meet and act, and perform the routine of life together. But this being the case, it is natural that the virtues called for by a life in public should be developed. A certain sullenness amongst strangers, which is apt to be an English characteristic, seems exchanged there for good temper and forbearance. Much as Mr. Grattan dislikes American society, he always notices this

feature—a prevalent command of temper—as a national characteristic. On first landing, the manners of cabmen and Custom-house officers, ‘obliging, but not obsequious,’ impressed him favourably. In the crowded streets he is struck with the absence of rudeness and bad language, which was only heard from Irishmen. Even in a hopeless entanglement of vehicles, the drivers quietly ‘commune with their horses,’ instead of railing on one another. When a multitude disperses under the most discouraging auspices, their temper stands the test. After a monster meeting at Bunker’s Hill, when a tempest came on—

‘The rain came down in torrents, the lightning streamed all around. But the heavy tramp of the thousands rushing across the wooden bridges deadened the thunder. The mixture of deep sounds was most impressive, but among them no utterance of voices. No one spoke. Every one seemed intent on his business, which was to reach his home as fast as he could. The Yankee character was strikingly exemplified in the whole scene. * * On our drive home, I remarked, that of the many hundreds we saw drenched to the skin, their best suits spoiled, and their day’s sport broken up, not one gave the slightest symptom of dissatisfaction, or seemed to have lost his or her temper.’—Vol. ii. p. 325.

From his report, indeed, they are not grumblers over the inevitable evils of life. His spleen is raised by the serenity with which an American will submit to be cheated where there is no redress, and he illiberally infers that the victim only waits for his time to avenge his losses on the community at large, complacently recognising a principle of action in the transaction from which he suffers, and out of which he ultimately hopes to make his advantage. The passage is curious as a specimen of our author’s vein :—

‘The selfishness generated by this system accounts for the amazing coolness with which one Yankee suffers another to impose on him. He scarcely ever grumbles, rarely remonstrates, and it may be said, never resists. He pays the overcharge or admits the cheater; because he knows that impunity is the common right, and that what he submits to in one instance he will exact in another; for all the Yankees are traders of some kind, either in stock, goods, land, or money. They all buy and sell. No one lives on a fixed income, to which he is born and which he leaves behind him. Therefore each is sure, some time or other, to have his revenge. Outwitted in one bargain, he outwits in another. What he overpays to his tailor or boarding-house keeper he overcharges to his next customer or client. It is not worth while to quarrel about an exaction for which he can recompense himself, nor wise to set an example which would be sure to react upon him. Thus non-resistance is essentially the principle of the social compact, as resistance is that of political life.’—Vol. ii. p. 93.

Our author considers numbers and mutual action as so necessary to the development of American character, that even their wit will not flow in a solitary channel. After saying that the

spirit with which they act in bodies can scarcely be believed compatible with the mean and timid tone of individuals, and that the enthusiasm exhibited at their meetings is inexplicable to him who has observed them in cold and cautious singleness, he describes a *Phi Beta Kappa* society dinner, where a perfect *feu de joie* of wit and repartee was kept up by 200 guests, whom afterwards he met separately, as dull and reserved as their less gifted neighbours, from which he infers that no man single-handed ventures to make a joke, and he laments over the voluntary bondage to public opinion, and the willing sacrifice of independence which subservience to the general standard brings upon them. While constantly quarrelling with this natural defect as a drawback to social intercourse; in the arena of political life, where we seem to recognise its most injurious workings, Mr. Grattan appears to enforce it still further, though it is difficult to get at any distinct view. That is, his sympathies are with the people and the masses, and his quarrel is with those who are not satisfied with things as they are, and have wishes vague or defined for a change. His line is to crush aspirations as disloyalty to the Republic. But as his principles on English politics are so opposed to our own, and destroy our value for his judgment, we do not enter upon this part of his work, or his dissertation upon their public men, for whose principles, patriotism, and even honesty, he professes a very low opinion, treating them rather as misleaders of the people than as governed by them.

In his sympathy with a pure democracy, Mr. Grattan has no prejudice against Lynch law, and thinks the 'wild justice' of the multitude a wholesome check, giving no ground to fear for the stability of their institutions (Vol. ii. p. 454). For ourselves, we never more fully realize the practical difference of forms of government, than when some startling incident reveals to us the slight hold that the law of the land has on the mind of the American people, and that, when any popular feeling against or sympathy with an offender is awakened, there is scarcely an affectation of listening for the voice of legal justice, or of waiting for a sentence. Their judges cannot have the weight of ours, their courts cannot be invested with the awe of ours. We feel they can know nothing of our national submission to a power as of divine authority, when we read, in the first notice of a murder, such cool commentaries as the New York papers furnish on the recent terrible revenge of Mr. Sickles on the betrayer of his honour. In England, though there would be no want of sympathy for his wrong, there would be an immediate appeal to the law. 'What will the law say?' A sense of suspense. Here the papers composedly lay out his future plans for Mr. Sickles,

as though he had no ordeal to pass through. They seem to recognise a sort of purism or pedantry of subordination in the slayer being in prison, after having killed his enemy, an unarmed man, with three distinct shots. 'It may,' they say, 'subject him to some inconvenience,' but the freedom from annoying discussion of his case will perhaps be more than an equivalent advantage. As for a trial, it is regarded as a mere form to be gone through.

'If the aim of the law is entirely exemplary, its action is entirely unnecessary in such a case as this. No judicial action could point a moral with more severity than do the circumstances attendant upon the killing of Mr. Key by Mr. Sickles.'

'The effect of this melancholy affair upon the public life of the survivor will be temporarily disastrous; the people of New York, whatever may be said to the contrary, have a deep-seated respect for the law, and under any circumstances will view its abrogation with repugnance. They may excuse the act, but will hesitate to reward the author. But the services of a brilliant man like Mr. Sickles will not be altogether lost to the country, which is wide enough for all. In some of the border territories, where from the laxity of society, the weakness of infant governments, the theory of violent remedies for violent social evils is necessarily recognised, he may commence a new career unstained by social ban. We hope and trust he may do so. Few young men in public life had more promise than Mr. Sickles previous to this affair. He was the recognised leader, as he was the cleverest man in the delegation from the commercial metropolis of the country. An eloquent orator, a keen debater, and a hard-working man in committee, and withal not losing sight of those social amenities which adorn the life of the public man, he had all the pre-requisites for a first-class statesman. There will be those who will be glad to return him again at Washington, after time shall have in some degree softened the bitterness of the cup which has been presented to his lips.'—*New York Herald*, March 1, 1859.

But to return to lighter subjects, where Mr. Grattan should be more at home than in the analysing of deep motives of action and search of first principles. He devotes a chapter to the question, 'Are the Americans a happy people?'—a question which perhaps his Hibernian temperament, which sees happiness in excitement, can hardly answer fairly, as he assumes them too deficient in the power of strong emotion to be capable of extremes either of joy or sorrow:—

'They laugh and weep, are glad or sorry; but true to the general principle in all things, the community at large, with occasional exceptions, springing from religious fanaticism, cannot be said to rise or fall from the ordinary level that precludes all susceptibility of either an elevated or depressing nature. Undoubtedly this middle state of existence is far better for the mass of mankind than the whirl of passionate feelings which keeps both body and mind on the rack; but ardent individuals, who live on excitement and flourish in excess, have little to look for in America but disappointment, except in the resources of gambling and dissipation.'—Vol. ii. p. 315.

In immunity from many of the cares of life, and especially

from those anxieties which press upon parents in the old world, connected with the provision of their children, they are singularly fortunate. Even where change of fortune does come the fall is not so great, nor the feelings so deeply involved. Things seem to have the power of righting themselves more easily than with us; while in the more common career of prosperity—

'The Yankee looks on his young brood complacently as it grows quickly into manhood, rough and ready for anything, and with infinite variety of resources, and abundant fields for the exercise of industry and talent.'—
Vol. ii. p. 316.

But freedom from care is not happiness, and either the climate, with its extremes and its dryness, or the enervating effect of that indoor atmosphere of which all foreigners complain, arising from hot air and furnaces; or the indisposition of the people to active exercise and vigorous efforts, or all combined, deprive them of that exhilaration, that enjoyment of existence as such, that holiday feeling, which is happiness in itself without other aid. He dwells upon what American authorities themselves now so feinely deplore—the want of physical energy, and of its natural sequence—robust health. The children are grave, 'showing none of the mischievous vivacity so common in Europe.' Their games are tame, and English sports cannot win a place in their affections. The people do not care for cricket or similar activities. Hunting, in our sense of the word, is unknown. Even in winter their out-door diversions are languid. The ladies shiver in sleighs instead of bracing themselves by walking exercise. The aspect of the population is grave, thoughtful, and decorous. His report confirms what has been always said, that the period of *youth*, which with the English lasts longer than with any race in the world, is with them quickly run through. The following passage reminds us of French adolescence:—

'These children soon go from the nursery to the school-house. If they are boys they run through their boyhood with marvellous rapidity. As soon as they can read they begin to study the public papers. About the same period they are turned loose into the streets, and they straggle into news-rooms, election-wardrooms, places of business, markets, caucuses, &cetera. They walk in political processions with miniature banners and small music. They enter at once into public life. They, in fact, do almost everything which is unbecoming to their early years, and very little, and that very imperfectly, which would give a grace to them. Their sports, as I have before stated, are mere caricatures of the sports of England, and absolutely painful to one who remembers the animation of the old world, whose greatest blessing is its spirit of long enduring youth. A "Boston boy" is a melancholy picture of prematurity. It might be almost said that every man is born middle-aged in that and every other great city of the Union. The principal business of life seems to be to grow old as fast as possible. The boy, the youth, the young man, are only anxious to hurry

on to the gravity and the care of "the vale of tears." There is a velocity in their movements, as though the hill they mount were a mere mole-hill, and that their downward course commenced before the youth of other countries had gained a third of the upward path. The toils of life—the destiny of the poorer classes of Europe—form the free choice of the rich men of America, always excepting the indolent Southern planters.

The boys are sent to college at 14: they leave it with their degree at about 17. They are then launched at once into life, either as merchants, or attorneys' clerks, medical students, or adventurers in the western states of the Union, or in foreign countries. The interval between their leaving school and commencing their business career affords no occupation to give either gracefulness or strength to body or mind. Athletic games, and the bolder field sports being unknown, nothing being done that we do—I mean, alas! that we used to do—at home, all that is left is chewing, smoking, drinking, driving hired horses in wretched gigs with a cruel velocity, or trotting on jaded or hard-mouthed hacks, at a speed that makes humanity shudder, and with an awkwardness that turns our pity for the one animal into contempt for the other. I doubt if there exists an American gentleman who could take a horse over a three-foot rail in England, or an Irish potatoe trench; yet they constantly talk of such or such a one as being a "good rider." —Vol. ii. p. 318.

This spirited picture may be exaggerated, but it makes evident the bearings of American manners and institutions upon youth. We know that they themselves are alive to the evil and desire a change—the slowest and most difficult of all things to bring about where universal custom is concerned. We cannot but think that this early introduction to public life has much to do with that *subservience* of which so much is said, and sameness to one model. Neither idiosyncrasies nor family types can have fair play where what should be character is so early thrust into one mould. Not that anything can entirely suppress individuality; but as intercourse with society prevents its becoming eccentricity, so living in a crowd may check its due development, and reduce each mind to the condition of a tree in an overcrowded forest, which, however fine its effect with the rest, looks bare and unpicturesque when deprived of companionship, besides failing in girth and strength of stem. The education of women in America is not less a peculiar national feature, and must even more influence what is technically understood by *society*, than the training of the men.

To every nation the maxim, 'whatever is, is right,' applies with more force to the condition, training, and standing of its women, than to any other question. It seems as if home would not be home, if they altered their course in any respect; the comfort and happiness they infuse around them is something so precious that the universal pleading is, to let well alone, and bring in no new-fangled innovations, the bearings of which we do not know, the results of which we cannot foresee. It is, therefore, a hopeless as well as delicate matter to suggest

improvements or to criticise standing institutions on this matter. But even on this question of happiness we will take our ground, and maintain that there are defects in the customs which relate to female early training in America, which, we believe, affect the cheerfulness of society by depriving women of their proper influence. The independence of women there seems to us to begin too soon and to be over too soon. We all know that the girls of America, as children, go to day-schools with their brothers. We do not suspect them of getting the harm from this plan to morals or delicacy of feeling which so many would fear from it; on the contrary, learning from men and *with* boys, under proper regulations, may be even a safeguard from certain gossiping evils which haunt large English girls' schools; but the familiarity with the streets is, we think, objectionable, especially as Mr. Grattan describes them, as feeling so perfectly at home in the public thoroughfares as to use them as their *play-ground*: as also their early sympathy with public matters, which become an excitement before they can in any sense be a rational subject of interest, and which consequently pale before the real absorbing pursuit of a young lady's life who is left to herself, and to the influence of companions of her own age at the precise period of her existence when the advice, the example, the presence of maturer minds of her own sex would be of the most inestimable service to her.

All American books, and books on America, show the substantial truth of the following picture. English readers were shocked at the revelation on this head made in Mrs. Beecher Stowe's 'Dred,' whose pretty silly heroine so scandalized our notions of propriety that in many houses the book is not considered a *proper* one; and the serious readers of 'Uncle Tom' lament over the sinning chapters as over a great fall in a mother in Israel. Mrs. Stowe simply describes what *must* happen constantly where young girls are left to their discretion without guardian or guide. Our author is not likely to represent the national manners on this point in more engaging colours than a compatriot :—

'At the age of 12 or 13, when female children rejoice in the appellation of "Misses," they begin to enjoy all the privileges of self-management. They go to school until a more advanced period; but they go there alone, take what route they like best, return home unattended, and in the intervals of the class hours, from morning until dusk, they are entirely their own mistresses. At about 15—and then they are styled "Young Ladies"—they begin to visit, go to parties made up of both sexes, all of their own age or thereabouts; give them in their turns, sending out their invitations quite independently of their mothers. From these "young parties" every one bordering on years of discretion is excluded. Girls over twenty are considered quite *passées*. No one, in fact, is tolerated who could prove the least restraint upon the company, except the mother of the entertainer, or

aunt, or grandmother, whose indulgence is sure to offer no check. Now, from the earliest age at which those "Misses" begin their preparation for their career as "young ladies," until their progress is finished by matrimony or old maidishness, a never-ceasing series of what they call flirtations, but which takes the most decided form of what we call coquetry, is carried on with intense ardour. As far as I could observe or learn, the initiative in these affairs is generally taken by the female partners in the adventure. The intrepid defiance of what is considered in Europe a prudent reserve shows great courage, but is not always successful. To make conquests—so to call the poor result of attaching a young fellow as a partner for the balls, or an escort to the lectures of the season, or a companion for walking about the streets—is the business of a "young lady's" life. To reckon the number of her "beaux" is her pride; to cast them off her pastime. She is not, however, much to blame for this levity. They are commonplace and insipid to an inconceivable degree. They are certainly little worth loving, for they know little of love but its name. They can but feebly make it, and imperfectly inspire it; for the power of doing the first earnestly is essential towards effecting the latter completely. Therefore the girls rarely experience the delight of a genuine passion. Their dangling admirers amuse, and may even at times interest them; and no doubt the general rule has its exceptions. But I say positively, from various testimony, that a generous affection is very uncommon in what pass for love affairs in the northern portions of America. In the natives of the fiery and ardent South, great indeed is the difference."—Vol. ii. p. 58.

Now, as far as this is true, and wherever it is true, the fault lies in young people being deprived of the natural check from the presence of mature years and experience. They may fancy this would be a bar to enjoyment, and probably our suggestion of a bevy of chaperones would be received with double displeasure, as a doubt of their power to take care of themselves, and as the infusion of an element of dulness and restraint; but there can be no greater mistake than to suppose that cheerfulness is promoted by the exclusion of middle life, or even old age. We are convinced that all ages benefit by an admixture, and that young people especially, are never so joyous, so free from care, so full of youthful spirit, as when their happiness not only stimulates their companions, but wins the smile and wakes the tenderness of friends who can never know youth again but through their sympathies. It is not at all a question whether young people get into serious mischief, or do themselves substantial harm by being left to themselves. We know that this is not the case; that no women are more correct in life and conduct. But a period of unchecked flirtation, where a girl is betrayed into it by custom and example, should be, and we have no doubt is, a period of feverish worry and chronic remorse,—tincturing the memory with regrets, and in many an instance sobering the real lasting connexions of life with a premature hue of the common-place. A fitful season of unrestrained excitement and unchecked liberty of action in girlhood may even dispose the wife to subside into a monotonous exist-

ence. She may have sown her modified, and, so to say, innocent wild oats, and feel that society can do no more for her; that it can never be anything to her, henceforth, but the dull and objectless repetition of old dissipations. But this is by no means one of the least evils of the system, and we are sure that in matron life and middle life in America, women must pay a penalty of insignificance and loss of influence for the leading part they played when youth was all the pre-eminence they needed, without the control of the social circle and the direction of the business of society. On these points we may feel certain a course of flirtation is an evil, and yet it is inevitable under the system generally described. Nor can we acquiesce in that liberty which allows of the following anomalies,—not such in America, but actually in themselves, because we may be sure that much thoughtless, giddy, and unprofitable talk must be induced, and the question of love affairs and offers be kept more than needlessly uppermost in young heads of both sexes. This system *seems* to render a successful *first* love a rarer thing there than even with us; but perhaps we speak on insufficient data, and we must not forget that Mr. Grattan was used to the external show of reserve in foreign manners, where even English liberty is misunderstood:—

'It is quite startling, until one gets accustomed to it, to witness the way in which young girls go on, or *get along*, to use the American phrase. Their intercourse with men is without restraint. They invite them to their homes, receive their visits, walk with them and ride with them alone, at all times and in all places. They go to parties and return home in the same carriage with any man of their acquaintance, quite unattended by any female relative or friend. We used to be much amused at first, in several of the cities, to see young couples come into ball-rooms arm-in-arm together, taking it for granted they were affianced lovers; and were not a little amazed at the first instance which came to our knowledge of a youth of twenty years of age being invited to escort a dashing *belle* to a soirée, in the same carriage, without any third person. We soon, however, got accustomed to the general habit.'—Vol. ii. p. 62.

There is no such thing as match-making in America. The young people arrange these things for themselves, and the mammas do not seem influential in such affairs. It is very rare to refuse consent to a match on which the daughter has set her mind; and though there are some mesalliances, there are few unhappy marriages, which is an admission for a censor to make. But neither does marriage seem quite the same thing there as with us. The national institution of boarding-houses, which to English tastes sounds so dreary and strange, interferes where it is adopted with what we understand by domestic life. Whenever, on the wedding day, the husband settles his bride in the common drawing-room of one of these establishments, to 'stare

'and be stared at,' to share her meals with him in company of strangers, with no retirement, and no privacy, a perfectly different compact is entered upon, another existence opened before her, from our ideal either of the honeymoon or wedded life. All descriptions of this boarding-house life are the same; and so they must be, because all people must sink in them to one level. Persons show their differences, their degrees of moral elevation, by their *choice* of modes of life. If this is chosen for them—if they must live in a crowd of strangers, deprived of the natural occupations of their position, and without privacy for intellectual pursuits,—women will, and, by a certain law, must all sink into gossip, trivial curiosity, love of dress for its own sake, and all the inanities of vacant life. All will do it, but all will not be happy in it, and will, in time, find some means of escape. The habit, universal to the nation, of occasionally adopting this mode of life (of course, it is its adoption for a permanence which we mainly object to), may probably be one reason for American society not encouraging informal social gatherings so common in our more genial circles. People meet in this way at the *table d'hôte* and at boarding-houses, and, therefore, their deliberate efforts to be sociable must be in more formal style, and the guests collected on a different principle. Mr. Grattan complains of their dinners, with scarce any infusion of ladies, as being strictly on the national rule of reciprocity, and, therefore, confined to men 'of grey hairs, or none'; for Americans, he says, are averse to small obligations; and younger men, not being in a position to return hospitality of this sort, are not expected to share it. Balls, on the other hand, are affairs for the young, and so on; while his sensibilities are wounded by the point that is made at all evening *réunions* of profuse fare, and the steady application on all hands to the business of the table. But the years which have intervened since he shared these entertainments, may have changed all this; and in distinction from his experience, we have heard the society and hospitalities of Boston warmly commended by our countrymen, and gratefully and feelingly acknowledged.

In some respects, American life reminds us of the pictures of English society presented to us by the writers of the last century. The portrait of an American flirt finds its counterpart in the '*Spectator*' or in Richardson rather than our modern drawing-rooms. There seems a dash and independence about them which we find in the fine women of the days of powder and fans, though, happily, without the coarseness which sullied the past age. In the same way, we read of their being attended to places of resort and entertainment by their *beaux*, and keeping an inventory of 'conquests.' And even this term *beau* itself, which Mr. Grattan

thinks so vulgar, and which by this time jars sadly on English taste, may be only a still undiscarded relic of that day, kept for old England's sake, and as good *ton* as when first adopted as an expressive and graceful novelty. There is a resemblance, too, in the acquaintance with and participation in household labours which universally characterized that age, and which the nature of their institutions imposes upon American women—occupations very much opposed to Mr. Grattan's notions of civilization; but which probably exercise a salutary and sobering influence upon the airy, external life belles of all ages are tempted to lead. It was when our fair ones were surrounded by 'crowds of white-gloved beaux' that the poet insinuated the moral use of such avocations—

‘Oh, if to dance all night and dress all day
Charm'd the small-pox, or chased old age away;
Who would not scorn what housewife's cares produce,
Or who would learn one earthly thing of use?’

Much of the phraseology, both colloquial and otherwise, which is strange to our ears, as quoted by Mr. Grattan, is inherited from our joint ancestors; while slang, in either country, must be of indigenous growth, and while gaining a gradual incorporation into the dialect of one nation, viewed from without, must always seem a vulgar abuse in the other, and be an element of separation and divergence. That nasal peculiarity even, universal in New England, may be traced back to British conventicles, and must have been tenderly cherished in the new land, for its associations, as well as its supposed necessary connexion with spiritual religion. There is no doubt that it is an inheritance of the Puritans, who were never in general favour enough here to stamp their manners on the habits of the people, but have been more successful in the land of their adoption.

Our author dwells on the impatience of criticism, and censure in the mildest form, betrayed by the Americans. His own style towards them is so little friendly that we do not wonder if his personal experience all tends this way. If he has spoken anything like what we find in his book, of course they have taken it amiss. But his illustrations to prove general angry feeling are from too remote quarters to show universal susceptibility. As there is no central point for the American press, it is a custom to put forward the lucubrations of the Union generally as all of equal weight. We cannot tell whether our provincial papers are as much quoted there as the opinions of their remote journals are here, whenever a case has to be made out against America; but, at any rate, we do not accept every chance country newspaper as exponents of our views on important questions; and we, therefore, are not disposed to believe that similar effusions

express the feelings of the great leading Atlantic cities. Mr. Grattan quotes from a recent work, by a Mr. Ward, as conveying national sentiments, who describes himself as an unknown individual from Arkansas, so ‘accustomed to attack rampant ‘bears at home that the *cavortings* of the British lion seem less ‘terrible to him than to his civilized countrymen.’ Wherever this gentleman got his style it is so forcible, and conveys his meaning so well, that we would greatly prefer having his good word; but the fates deny this, so we must be content to be generous foes. His spirit is stirred by the fuss we make about the national habit of spitting, which, he says, we hate because it is American, not for its own sake. And, really, there is some truth in this; for Mr. Grattan’s previous residence abroad must have familiarized him with the practice, and its attendant nuisance of smoking, wherever it is possible to indulge in it; and yet he thinks continental cities very pleasant places to live in, where men spit in public and in private, in halls, churches, pulpits, altars—everywhere the spittoon, or the want of it. Mr. Ward would have John Bull taught better manners than to sneer at it in America:—

‘When he is convinced that we have attained such a position in the world as to enable us to spit with impunity, he may still attack the habit, but will no longer attempt to ridicule it. If spitting be, as the English would fain have it, a nationality, let us boldly spit it into respectability. I believe it is often inconvenient to him who indulges in it, but for the life of me I cannot discover anything in it so especially offensive. * * I contend that it is superlatively disgusting to the English merely because it is an American habit. Hating us with an intensity that helpless rage can only know, it is their chiefest delight to cavil at us; and finding nothing more serious to object to, our earlier traducers seized upon this; and each hireling caterer to the morbid feeling against America in England attempts a facetious improvement on the stereotyped jokes of his predecessors. But, (continues Mr. Ward,) if we Americans *must* spit, let us spit out courageously before the whole world. I beseech again, let us spit fearlessly and profusely. Spitting on ordinary occasions may be regarded, by a portion of my countrymen, as a luxury; it becomes a duty in the presence of an Englishman. Let us spit around him—above him—beneath him—everywhere but on him, that he may become perfectly familiar with the habit in all its phases.’—Vol. ii. p. 384.

There is complaint, too, against the extravagant self-laudation of the American press. But here, of course, the quarter where this style is indulged is everything; for scarcely anything can exceed in extravagance the literary notices in our own provincial papers—as any one may judge who reads the string of commendations attached to the works of some local poet, whose name he never heard of. It is curious that Mr. Grattan’s main instance, a grandiloquent notice of a Mrs. Brooks, whose name and works were alike unknown to him, and who is

described by her eulogist as one of the most remarkable women that ever lived, and her poem ‘an effort of genius which will ‘ work its way into the great public heart of the country, and ‘ her fame grow with time,’—finds almost a counterpart in the language of panegyric with which our Southey, in a gallant mood, introduced this same flighty poem of ‘Zophiel’ to the notice of this country, at the time of its publication. We do not deny that the American strain towards their literary men is forced and over-done; but, at the same time, we perceive a disposition in Mr. Grattan to underrate them. America has, for instance, just right to be proud of Bryant, and even to compare him with our own poets; but he only recognises him as a writer of ‘pleasing verses, familiar to many readers in ‘England.’ Altogether, America, and especially its leading cities, pay this penalty for their assumption of importance, that they are made responsible for everything. The Atlantic cities wish to pass for capitals, and are judged by their rules, while it is evident that many of them should rather be compared with our great mercantile towns than with London or Paris, a comparison from which, perhaps, they would not suffer. Their polities, too, have a touch of our provincial politics, in the nature of their interests; and society is obviously more on this town footing than on that of our metropolitan higher circles, where, in fact, country people congregate for a season of the year. That there is a class in America which bears a resemblance to our gentry in some points, we are often told, though they hold a different political position; nor can we sympathize with that notion of refinement which induces them to leave the government of their country in hands they can neither trust nor sympathise with.

‘ Persons are to be found in America of really good *ton*, even according to European estimate, but they are infrequently met with in the business or political world. You must look for them on the banks of the Hudson, the Delaware, or the Ohio; in villas with the appurtenances of refinement; in the remote valleys of New England; or on the plantations of the Southern States; and there surrounded by the repulsive associations of slavery, which neutralize the graces to whose culture they administer. All the men of that superior stamp, to mix with whom it was occasionally my good fortune, were (with rare exceptions) out of the whirl of politics, and what is called, in the phraseology of the cities, “high life.” They do not come into contact with the pushing inelegancies of the mass, from which the leading party men and the highest functionaries, whether state or federal, are chosen. Many of the secluded gentry of whom I speak have been partly educated in Europe, or have extended their adult experience there long enough to appreciate the tastes and habits of the old world; and they do not hesitate to choose between the obscure enjoyments of their country homes, and the ambitious vulgarities of public life. It was most gratifying to join those delightful circles. But it was not in them that I was to find materials for a book on the general characteristics of civilized America. It was among

the motley crowd of the millions that I had to make my way, and among whom my temporary lot was cast.'—Vol. i. p. 190.

We have also a few words of praise for the superior refinement over Boston of New York and Baltimore, but our author's commendations are rapidly run through, in a sort of gulph; as though the process were unpalatable, and there were grievances not to be forgiven associated with every form of intercourse in this ungenial clime. Once his Irish sympathies were heartily awakened by an exhibition of the turn for practical joking which sometimes relieves the oppressive national gravity. We introduce it in somewhat sudden contrast to the picture of elegant unpatriotic idleness he has been describing, and as an instance of the universal passion for political excitement which pervades the mass of the people, but which these choicer spirits withdraw from:—

' Many of the election freaks throughout the country are still more evident examples of droll devices and mirthful agitation. Among these the curious wagers that are laid vary, by their ludicrous conditions, the otherwise too eager gambling for money rushed into on occasion of such events. One of the most original of these was between two violent politicians respectively candidates for the State Senate and for Congress, by name and title, Colonel R. J. Burbank and Major Ben Purley Poore; the first a Fremont "Free-soiler," the latter a Fillmore "Know-nothing," the wager being for a barrel-full of apples, the loser undertaking to transport the same in a wheelbarrow from West Newbury to Boston, a distance of about forty miles; thefeat depending on the Presidential election and the greater or lesser amount of votes polled by their respective favourites. As Fremont was the fortunate man and Fillmore the beaten one (both, however, being out-voted by Buchanan), Major Ben Purley Poore feeling himself bound to pay the penalty of his confidence in the defeat of "Free-soil Freemen and Fremont," (although released from his pledge by his courteous adversary) manfully set out on the day fixed upon by the conditions to perform his stipulated engagement, a real debt of honour, with nothing sordid or mercenary either in principle or practice.

' The excitement on this ludicrous occasion was intense throughout the line of country traversed by the loser, to cheer whom as he advanced on his road, thousands of spectators awarded the best compensation for his bad luck and the troublesome redemption of his promise in shouts of laughter and complimentary addresses, and all sorts of convivial entertainment, in return for the one for which he afforded the public. As he "progressed" towards the accomplishment of his journey, and during the two days of its continuance, the telegraph announced his advances hour by hour; the newspapers gave reports of them, the whole population within any reasonable distance of the line of march hurried to the best places for seeing the hero, who conquered the whole country by his good-natured submission to the penalty of his defeat. He was met at Charlestown, a before-mentioned suburb of Boston, by a delegation from the city, his escort of the Boston "Independent Volunteers," headed by the Boston "Cornet band." Next came the Major dressed in a fancy costume, a brown hat, green-baize jacket and blue trowsers, wheeling his barrow which, with its load of apples, weighed one hundred and eighty-five pounds. Above it floated the American Eagle handsomely painted on a banner, and another flag was

borne close behind with this inscription, "Major Poore—may the next administration prove as faithful to their pledges as he was to his." Behind was an open carriage drawn by four horses and occupied by the two judges. A countless crowd followed the procession through the streets, sending forth loud acclamations as the dust-covered, sweltering, and jaded—but still smiling—Major, harnessed by a strap to his barrow, with blistered hands and shoulders, triumphantly deposited his load in front of the Tremont Hotel, without having dropped a single apple on the whole length of route. Many a hand shook his on that proudest moment of his life; while many a tongue uttered a pitying transposition of his names from Ben Purley Poore to Poor Ben Purley—a change which the legislature would doubtless have confirmed in consideration of his memorable and unique exploit, which was celebrated on the spot of its accomplishments by a sumptuous banquet, wine without stint, and humorous speeches without end.—Vol. ii. p. 333.

The story is a creditable one, and shows that public virtue has not been wholly demoralized by declared principles of repudiation. In conclusion, in reading this work it is necessary always to bear in mind that its author is an Irishman, strongly imbued with certain national characteristics, which we think indispose him to understand the people whom he has undertaken to pourtray; to feel their faults with a peculiar repugnance, to estimate their counterbalancing virtues below their worth. We recognise his country in the contempt for thrift and homely virtues in the charges of 'niggardliness,' and 'meanness' in their hospitality; in his disparagement of trade and commerce; in his exaltation of impulse above the sense of duty, so that what is done under this motive he sets down as a 'cold and worthless sacrifice to decorum'; and, we may add, in the contradiction and self-refuting nature of many of his charges. There are some inherent and inextricable confusions in his mind between real and seeming good. His conclusions are constantly at variance with his statements—his preferences with his principles. We speak of men having a *line* and a *view*; he often has no line and sees everything round a corner. He proves it a misfortune to have good institutions, and tells his compatriots in the same breath that they groan under intolerable evils; that our aristocracy is a curse; and that we owe to it all our moral, intellectual and national greatness. He is fond of drawing a broad distinction between public and private virtue, and is often in the way to prove that the one cannot exist with the other. He blames the general prosperity of America as checking benevolence; the general civility as incompatible with warmth of heart; prudence as interfering with sincerity; economy with refinement; industry with eloquence. His style images forth the different phases of his mind. When his principles are paradoxical, this is obscure; when he attempts reason and induction, it is heavy and inelegant. He has no

power of working out an abstract idea, so as to carry his readers along with him; but in the field of narrative and direct observation, where he is at home—it does him more justice; and there are many entertaining pages, some interesting chapters, and a good deal of positive and valuable information for such readers as have learnt to discriminate as they read, and to keep their judgment in working order. But if this book obtains, as its author seems to hope for it, a general circulation in America, we can truly say that it ought neither to be received as an expression of English opinion nor as likely to elicit English sympathy.

ART. IV.—*The Limits of Religious Thought Examined. In Eight Lectures, preached before the University of Oxford in the year 1858, on the Foundation of the late Rev. JOHN BAMPTON, M.A., Canon of Salisbury.* By HENRY LONGUEVILLE MANSEL, B.D., Reader in Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy, at Magdalen College, Tutor and late Fellow of St. John's College. Second Edition. Oxford: Printed by J. Wright, Printer to the University, for John Murray, Albemarle Street, London. Sold by J. H. & Jas. Parker, Oxford, and 377, Strand, London. 1858.

THE faint and feeble whispers that began to be heard about a quarter of a century ago in Oxford against the celebrated work of Bishop Butler have developed, in the present reactionary period of scepticism, into distinct and audible complaints against the principle of the argument from analogy. The preliminary questions as to why it is that the argument has force, what are the limits of true analogy, and how far it should be allowed to have weight, are indeed alluded to by this great thinker, but are remitted to the science of logic for their solution, with a very intelligible hint as to the difficulty, if not the impossibility, of reducing the whole of this subject to exact system. Bishop Butler builds upon the unquestioned and unquestionable fact that analogy is of weight, that this general way of arguing is evidently natural, just, and conclusive. And it is the disagreeable feeling that they cannot escape from the truth of this observation that has driven sceptics and their admirers into the course which they now pursue, of denying the relevancy of this mode of argument. They cannot get over the fact that all minds capable of following the 'Treatise on the Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed, to the Constitution and Course of Nature,' are deeply impressed with the strength of the case made out, and unavoidably compelled to adopt the conclusions to which that work points. The current of the stream is too strong to be stopped, and they direct all their efforts to foul the source from which it flows. And because it is easy to find objections which it is difficult to answer, partly too, because it carries with it the appearance of liberality to admit the force of a difficulty, these opinions make some progress in an age in which so many are desirous to gain credit for liberal and enlightened notions. We are very thankful, therefore, to find the author of the Bampton Lectures for 1858

placing upon record, in so prominent a place, his firm conviction that sound religious philosophy will flourish or fade in the University according as the works of Bishop Butler are studied or neglected. This piece of advice or warning, whichever it may be called, comes with a peculiarly good grace from one who professes that he owes the development of his powers mainly to the teaching of that University, and whose Lectures alone are sufficient evidence that Butler's works are the mould in which his mind has been formed.

We rejoice that one with whom we have so many points of sympathy and agreement, and whose intellectual powers are evidently of the highest order, should be content to sit humbly at the feet of our great Moralist; but though we respect the unwillingness to criticise or to deviate from Bishop Butler on the subjects of which he treats, we must confess a desire to see Mr. Mansel less trammelled by his allegiance to the metaphysics of Sir William Hamilton. We are far from wishing to derogate from the praise which is due to Sir William Hamilton as an acute and profound thinker; but we have our misgivings of an author whose statements are not always to be depended upon for their accuracy. On the reverse of the title-page of the volume which we have undertaken to review, are two propositions which contain the germ of the argument of the Bampton Lectures—one taken from Bishop Berkeley, that 'the objections made to faith are by no means an effect of knowledge, but proceed rather from an ignorance of what knowledge is';—the other, quoted from Sir William Hamilton, that 'no difficulty emerges on theology which had not previously emerged in philosophy.' What this author means, and what he ought therefore to have said, is, that 'no class of difficulty is incident to theology which cannot be shown to be also incident to philosophy.' It may appear ungracious to attempt to pick holes in the mode of expression of a truth about which we have no real difference of opinion; but we cannot help thinking that the whole tone of Mr. Mansel's work is affected by the views of this author, which seem to us rather to have interfered with the proper development of Mr. Mansel's vigorous mind.

The most valuable parts of the author's work are those in which he has most closely followed in Butler's footsteps, whilst in the more metaphysical portions of his argument there are many statements that, to say the least, appear to us very questionable. And he is himself the best practical evidence of the value which he sets upon the teaching of Bishop Butler. Not only is the whole volume coloured with his great master's tone of thought, but it is easy for one familiar with the writings of the author of the 'Analogy' to place his finger on the particular

passages which are the germ of many profound thoughts scattered through the pages of the lecturer. Not only are there direct allusions to well known parts of the 'Analogy,' but we can trace the influence which the Sermons, particularly those on the Love of God, the Ignorance of Man, and Resentment, have exerted on the author's mind, and we trust that Oxford will be wise enough to retain these volumes as her text-books, in spite of those present appearances which seem to have drawn from Mr. Mansel the warning note in his preface. Indeed, we do not doubt it will be so. These lectures of themselves are indicative of the reaction which was sure, sooner or later, to occur, and which has set in very strongly against the absurdities of German rationalism. And not only are they an indication of what already exists; we feel sure that they will exercise a powerful influence in guiding the course of opinion in that University, and thence in controlling the vagaries of philosophy throughout the country. Here is the work of a great thinker, who has ventured to hint pretty intelligibly that the speculations of Hegel have been misunderstood and misinterpreted by his own disciples, and that, for the simple reason that the master did not understand his own meaning. The interpretation that others will put upon this is, that the Hegelian philosophy is mere nonsense, and hundreds of dabblers in metaphysics will gladly follow in the wake whenever they have discovered that they can make such an assertion without subjecting themselves to the imputation of being unintellectual.

We proceed to give some account of the volume before us. The general view which it advocates is well summed up at the end of the sixth lecture; and we advise such of our readers as mean to study the volume and judge of it for themselves, to read the last paragraph, occupying the last three pages of this lecture, before they begin a systematic perusal of the whole. The work itself is an attack upon rationalism; but the indefiniteness of the term presents a considerable difficulty in our estimate of the author's performance, as we doubt not it did to himself throughout the whole preparation of his lectures. What one man will call rationalistic, another will designate as natural and reasonable; and we must be content to leave the border territory undefined, and speak generally of rationalism as that theory which would extend the province of reason beyond its proper and legitimate bounds, whatever those bounds may be. In coming to the practical application there is less difficulty, in proportion as we become familiar with the subjects upon which rationalism has been exercised, and the mode of argument which it has adopted. And it is easy to see that the Bampton Lectures of 1858 have shaped their course to meet, amongst

other opponents, the views concerning the Atonement which have within the last few years made their appearance. We conceive that the persons who are the principal object of Mr. Mansel's attack, which is formally directed against the principle of criticising the contents of a Revelation, are those who object to the Revelation which has been given in the general, or who, accepting it in the general, object to certain portions of it on the ground that they cannot reconcile them with their preconceived notions of what ought to be. Mr. Jowett has not yet gone so far as, in words, to express his disbelief in the Bible, as in some sense containing a Revelation from God. He only denies certain dogmas which are unquestionably the doctrines which the Church of England professes to find in Scripture, and which the great majority of Christians in this country have unhesitatingly adopted. Others, such as Mr. Froude, Mr. Francis Newman, and some American and German critics, have, whether consciously or unconsciously, succeeded in divesting themselves of a belief in any Revelation couched in human language. Against both these classes of opponents the fire of Mr. Mansel's artillery is directed indiscriminately; and it is not always easy to see which of them in any given portion of the work he is specially aiming at. The conclusion of the sixth lecture, which, as we have said, contains a summary of the whole, is as follows:—

'I have thus far endeavoured to apply the principle of the Limits of Religious Thought to some of those representations which are usually objected to by the Rationalist, as in apparent opposition to the Speculative Reason of Man. In my next Lecture I shall attempt to pursue the same argument, in relation to those doctrines which are sometimes regarded as repugnant to man's Moral Reason. The lesson to be derived from our present inquiry may be given in the pregnant sentence of a great philosopher, but recently taken from us: "No difficulty emerges in Theology, which had not previously emerged in Philosophy." The intellectual stumbling-blocks, which men find in the doctrines of Revelation, are not the consequence of any improbability or error peculiar to the things revealed, but are such as the thinker brings with him to the examination of the question;—such as meet him on every side, whether he thinks with or against the testimony of Scripture; being inherent in the constitution and laws of the human mind itself. But must we therefore acquiesce in the melancholy conclusion, that self-contradiction is the law of our intellectual being?—that the light of Reason, which is God's gift, no less than Revelation, is a delusive light, which we follow to our own deception? Far from it: the examination of the Limits of Thought leads to a conclusion the very opposite of this. Reason does not deceive us, if we will only read her witness aright; and Reason herself gives us warning, when we are in danger of reading it wrong. The light that is within us is not darkness; only it cannot illuminate that which is beyond the sphere of its rays. The self-contradictions, into which we inevitably fall, when we attempt certain courses of speculation, are the beacons placed by the hand of God in the mind of man, to warn us that we are deviating from the tract that

He designs us to pursue: that we are striving to pass the barriers which He has planted around us. The flaming sword turns every way against those who strive, in the strength of their own reason, to force their passage to the tree of life. Within her own province, and among her own objects, let Reason go forth, conquering and to conquer. The finite objects, which she can clearly and distinctly conceive, are her lawful empire and her true glory. The countless phenomena of the visible world; the unseen things which lie in the depths of the human soul;—these are given into her hand; and over them she may reign in unquestioned dominion. But when she strives to approach too near to the hidden mysteries of the Infinite;—when, not content with beholding afar off the partial and relative manifestations of God's presence, she would "turn aside and see this great sight," and know why God hath revealed Himself thus;—the voice of the Lord Himself is heard, as it were, speaking in warning from the midst: "Draw not nigh hither: put off thy shoes from off thy feet; for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground."—*The Limits of Religious Thought Examined*, pp. 197—199.

Such is the scheme of the Bampton Lectures of last year; and before we go on to offer any criticism on the mode in which the idea has been worked out, we may notice the very singular popularity which these lectures have attained. Those who remember the dreary courses of lectures which have been delivered from the pulpit of S. Mary's, year after year, for some time past, may well wonder at the change which has taken place. And not only were these sermons listened to with avidity by the crowds who assembled week after week to hear them, but the public at large has indorsed the opinions of the residents at the University, and a second edition has been called for and published within a very few months of the publication of the first. Such a demand for a book of this kind is, we suppose, quite unprecedented; and though like any other extraordinary phenomenon, accountable, it is not what we should ourselves have pronounced probable beforehand. The difficulty of the sermons is so great that we suppose scarcely any of the most intellectual hearers could have entirely followed the preacher in his argument; and the great mass of his audience must have been very much in the dark as to his meaning. The unusually large attendance at these lectures may be explained partly by their being really lectures of a very high character, partly by the attractions of a style at once vigorous and graceful, and partly, perhaps, on the principle of *omne ignotum pro magnifico*. For though an audience, composed mainly of the higher style of Oxford undergraduates, may be unable to understand the full meaning of what they hear, yet, upon the whole, they are quite able to distinguish between mere verbiage and profound thoughts. There is real and great ability displayed in these lectures, and the fact that the appearance of power is greater than the reality, has not been without considerable effect upon the amount of their popularity. Still, it would be doing great injustice to Mr. Mansel not to recognise

those other elements of popularity which have told, not only in the mode of attracting large audiences in the University Church, but on the reading public; for we believe a second edition of a Bampton Lecture, bearing the same date as the first, is quite unique as a literary phenomenon; and we shall not be wrong in ascribing much of their success to their depth, their eloquence, and their reality. And though we cannot accept Mr. Mansel altogether as a teacher, either of metaphysics or theology, we are under great obligations to him for the able method in which he has pointed out, though vaguely, certain limits to the domain of human reason. The conclusion which he arrives at in the first seven of these lectures is, that the attainment of a philosophy of the Infinite is utterly impossible under the existing laws of human thought; and the eighth and last lecture develops the resulting inference that philosophical criticism is unable to test the claims of a supposed Revelation. 'Reason,' says Bishop Butler, 'is the only faculty wherewith we have to judge anything, even Revelation itself.' The two statements are by no means inconsistent. Mr. Mansel would bow to the latter proposition with all the deference which we should ourselves claim for it; and his own reconciliation of these two apparently conflicting statements is contained in the avowal that 'the legitimate object of a rational criticism of revealed religion is not to be found in the contents of that religion, but in its evidences.' The contents, so far forth as they are evidence, on the ground of their adaptation to the circumstances of man, may indeed form an object to reason, but this is a very different thing from exalting them into the rank of a sole test of a revelation, upon the question of their conformity to the nature and purposes of God, according to what a given investigator chooses to suppose for himself that nature and those purposes to be. The practical conclusion from the whole argument is, that no one faculty is entitled to claim pre-eminence over the rest as being of itself able to ascertain the truth or falsehood of a supposed revelation.

Mr. Mansel deprecates the objection which may be urged against this conclusion, that it is a kind of truism; but he justly observes, that however true it may be, and however little it may be denied when proposed as an abstract truth, religious disputants have, in point of fact, very commonly neglected it. It is creditable to the Bampton Lecturer that he has abstained from saying the hard things which it would have been easy to say at this point of the argument, and which it would have been very telling to accuse his adversaries of; such, for instance, as the extraordinarily disproportionate value which they assign to intellect in divine matters, their indifference to certain moral obligations, their entire deficiency in devotional

habits and tone of mind. Nothing of the kind appears in the course of these lectures, though their author must be fully aware how all these allegations might be substantiated in lamentable instances of persons who once promised well, but who have lost, with their faith, their keenness of perception in morals, and even intellectual power in grasping religious truth. The obviousness of the conclusion is no objection to the elaborate nature of the inquiry which has resulted in it, if the argument be indeed a good *argumentum ad hominem* to those to whom it is addressed; and nothing is to our view clearer than that the whole school of rationalists has wrecked itself on the pride of human intellect; and has, in fact, taken no account of the principles, affections, and faculties of human nature, which are distinct from the speculative faculty. The conclusion itself we have no wish to quarrel with, regarding it, as we do, with Mr. Mansel, as an obvious truth. How far the rationalist will feel that on his own principles he is forced into the recognition of this truth, or whether most rationalists would not in theory adopt it without any argument at all, however little careful they may be to adhere to it in practice, we will not stop here to inquire. Bishop Butler once remarked upon the *reasonable* scheme which some persons had set up; so very reasonable, he says, in one of those sentences of his so full of irony, as to make no account of the affections of human nature which are distinct from the speculative faculty. And rationalism really, though not professedly, adopts the same principles in a different application. It is also true, though it is by no means a new remark, that the defenders of Christianity have frequently been content to rest the whole stress of the case on a single line of argument, apparently quite regardless of the accumulating force of various considerations converging towards the same point.

We would, therefore, earnestly contend for 'internal evidence' being allowed its proper weight; a weight which we have no hesitation in saying Mr. Mansel has enormously undervalued, when, after saying that an argument derived from the internal character of a religion may prove in certain cases that a religion *has not* come from God, he goes on to say that—

'To advance a step beyond the merely negative argument, it is necessary that the evidence contained in the character of the doctrine itself should be combined with that derived from the exterior history. When, for example, the Divine origin of Christianity is maintained on the ground of its vast moral superiority to all heathen systems of ethics, or on that of the improbability that such a system could have been conceived by a Galilean peasant among the influences of the contemporary Judaism, the argument is legitimate and powerful, but its positive force depends, not merely on the internal character of the doctrine, but principally on its relation to certain external facts.'

We are sorry that this extract is fortified by a reference to 'The Christ of History,' a work, whatever may be its value, written by an author whose reading of Scripture we should suppose was far different from Mr. Mansel's. This view appears to us to be as far removed from the truth on one side, as that propounded by Mr. Francis Newman on the other, that the human mind is competent to sit in moral and spiritual judgment on a professed revelation, and to decide, if the case seems to require it, in the following tone:—'This doctrine attributes to God that which we should all call harsh, cruel, or unjust in man; it is therefore intrinsically inadmissible.' We speak of these two representations in a logical point of view, when we say that they are equally removed from the truth. We do not wish for a moment to hesitate in expressing our abhorrence of the latter view as arrogant and profane; but the fact, that if compelled to adopt one of these views, we should fall in with Mr. Mansel's as the safer and more reverent, does not blind us to its unreasonableness. The one writer evidently entirely ignores the duty which is incumbent on fallible beings to wait and see whether the *prima facie* impression is impugned or verified by subsequent evidence; and the other appears, as far as the mode of expression goes, to forget, what he does not really forget; for immediately afterwards he gives due weight to it, viz., the increasing power of adaptation there may be in spiritual doctrine, quite independently of any external facts, to the requirements of man's moral nature.

The primary and direct inquiry which human reason is entitled to make concerning a professed revelation is, how far does it tend to promote or to hinder the moral discipline of man. It is, he continues, but a secondary and indirect question, and one very liable to mislead, to ask how far it is compatible with the infinite goodness of God. In the instance adduced, of a direct command to do that which, but for that command, would have been vicious and immoral, we entirely acquiesce with the author in the remarks made on the subject by Bishop Butler, which are quite conclusive, and the whole object of which is to show that it is not incompatible with the idea of goodness. But the very reconciliation proposed and made out is sufficient to show that there is a true *a priori* idea of the infinite goodness of God, to which we attempt to adjust what is at first sight a seeming discrepancy. To leave man to form his estimate of the contents of a revelation by what appears to be their tendency in the long run to promote or to hinder the moral discipline of man, is very near akin to the error in moral philosophy, of estimating right by the rule of expediency, and is likely to be productive of similar evil results with the denying the existence of any such

faculty as the moral sense, distinct from the power of judging what will eventually be advantageous or pernicious to the general happiness of the race. The whole of this part of the last lecture is full of profound and interesting thoughts, and we think it probable that many readers will say, upon studying it, that after all there is no practical difference between the view adopted by Mr. Mansel and his reviewer. We are not anxious to find points of disagreement, but we are bound to express our conviction that the difference between us is not merely verbal, and that what we object to, is the result of the metaphysical view which the author has so carefully elaborated, that there can be no philosophy of the Infinite; or, to drop scientific expressions, that finite beings cannot grasp the infinite, and that human morality is not identical with the morality of God.

There are in mathematics *à priori* truths, our certainty of which is utterly independent of all experience; yet the student, when first he touches those branches of modern science which deal with the infinite and the infinitesimal, finds a difficulty in reconciling what he is taught with the principles which he fancied he fully comprehended; and some minds may, perhaps, be unable to grasp the principles of the higher *calculus* till they see them verified in their consequences and practical applications. And so we hold that the *à priori* knowledge which we have of morals is really of their abstract existence, and not merely of their development in human language. The language of the sixth commandment, for instance, 'Thou 'shalt not kill,' (possibly from the necessary and inherent imperfections of human language,) may not be at first understood in the exact limits of its application; and cases like the command to Abraham to slay his son Isaac may occur, which may at first sight seem to contravene the human expression, and what is judged to be the abstract nature of the law itself; but the very power which faith, such as Abraham's was, possessed of discerning the case, proves that we are somehow or other in possession of the knowledge of the abstract law itself, and not of its mere human development. The mathematical illustration which we have adopted will serve to show that the knowledge we possess of the principles is quite certain, and that the ignorance is only as respects certain cases of their application. There is no uncertainty as regards the first axioms of mathematics, which we know no amount of subsequent experience will be able to shake or confirm our belief in. The reading of the first section of the 'Principia' may create a prejudice in our minds against the writer, a prejudice which may be fortified by an hundred additional considerations, the weariness of pursuing the subject, the uselessness of wasting time on it, and the like;

but it would be the height of extravagance and absurdity for a student to declare that the work could not contain the true theory of the universe, because he was unable to master the preliminary information necessary to understand it, and because he professed to find contradictions in its first page. Now this case precisely corresponds to Mr. F. Newman's ' competency of the human mind to sit in judgment, and decide that a doctrine is inadmissible because it seems to attribute to God that which we should call harsh, cruel, or unjust in men.' If the analogy which we have been pursuing is worth anything, it seems to prove the wisdom in such cases of suspending the judgment, and waiting for a subsequent confirmation or reversal of the first impression. There is, we need hardly say, a wide difference between the cases which we are comparing. In mathematical science the difficulties must be overcome as best they may be; there may or may not be much of moral probation in the case: in religion, these are the very trials which we ought to expect: or, to take the lowest ground, we have no sort of *a priori* ground for being surprised at their existence; and they do, in point of fact, exercise an important influence in the way of discipline.

To continue the analogy; if any one were to argue from a comparison of the axioms of Euclid, with the principles of the Differential Calculus, that we had not seen truth as it is, but only in its adaptation to human intelligence, his position would very much resemble that taken up by Mr. Mansel in regard to the intuitive view of moral truth.

The analogy between what he calls ' temporary suspensions of the laws of moral obligation,' and the suspension of the laws of nature, which we call miraculous, is not altogether new, and has been used with effect in illustrating the inability of human language to embody the abstractions of Divine law—and, granted the fundamental position with which this lecture starts, is very close and striking; but from our point of view there is a very remarkable failure in the analogy. The laws of the physical world neither are nor can be known with certainty, just because they are established by an inductive process. The fortunate guess upon which they were established may, perhaps, be verified by the observations of a succession of ages; yet it is impossible to pronounce that they may not be modified or altogether superseded. That the theory of gravitation accounts for elliptic motion is a truth which, in the abstract, can never be gainsaid, because it is the necessary consequence of undeniable *a priori* axioms. That the universe is governed by a law of force, varying inversely as the square of the distance may hereafter be ascertained not to be the exact truth. It is certainly useful as

a *regulative* doctrine (we have borrowed Mr. Mansel's word), but after all it may not be *speculatively* the exact truth. Now the analogy between the axioms of mathematics and those of morality is much closer. They are both *a priori*. They are not established by induction. They derive no conceivable confirmation from any number of proposed cases, for or against.

We do not here think it necessary to refute the absurd and shallow theory of Mr. Mill, and some other modern writers, that even the axioms of mathematics are truths known by induction, and Mr. Mansel would not contend that the axioms of morality are inductively made known to us. Our argument would altogether fail to make any impression upon the minds of those who think that the principles of morals and mathematics, or either of them, are attained by the inductive process. We are sure that the firm conviction which they create in the mind, of their being in their own nature unalterable, is sufficient to remove them from this category, and is equally available in the defence of the position that, in both cases alike, we *do* understand the true nature of the abstractions themselves, and not the mere human phase of them. Man's judgment with regard to divine things may be, nay is, fallible; but his knowledge of God's attributes, as, for instance, that of Love, is real as far as it goes; quite real enough for him to determine, for instance, the impossibility of God's creating moral beings under a law of hatred—enough to confound Hobbes' shallow and impious theory, (natural enough in one who does not believe in the being of a God), that war is the natural state of human beings. Mr. Mansel has himself, in his seventh lecture, alluded to the parallel between the mathematical and moral sciences, but has made use of a most unfortunate mode of expression in speaking (p. 207) of the 'principles' of both 'being equally liable to error'; and though his meaning is obvious, in spite of the awkwardness of expression, it is worth while drawing attention to the point, if it only gives us the opportunity of repeating what we conceive to be the true state of the case; viz., that the liability to err is owing to the inability to estimate the circumstances of the case to which the principle is to be applied, and not to any obscurity in the principles themselves, or any misconception of them existing in ourselves. It does not follow that our estimate of the precept, 'Thou shalt not kill,' was in any the smallest degree erroneous or imperfect, because at a given time it had never occurred to us to think whether it would bear application to the case of public execution for crime. Our moral sense *does* enable us to comprehend that law of love, the particular injunctions of which it may perhaps be impossible for human language to give expression to,

without admitting of exceptional cases,—cases, that is, exceptional to the expression, not to the law itself. It is implied in the very trial of Abraham's faith that he *did* understand the abstract nature of the law which was afterwards embodied in the precept of the sixth commandment—that faith by which he knew that the command enjoined upon him was only a seeming, and not a real violation of the moral law.

The analogy of which we have been speaking will, we think, bear a further illustration from a comparison with the principles of taste in the fine arts. If the principles of art to which we could attain were merely regulative and not speculative, we might expect indeed to find the elegant and accomplished, the educated and refined, able to pronounce judgment, and we might reasonably defer to such judgment in cases of productions of art with the purposes and applications of which they were fully familiar and conversant. Supposing the abstract principles of art were beyond our reach, and we were condemned to the position in which we could only see just so far as might suffice for our guidance in life, it would be unaccountable that persons of refined taste should be able to judge of beauty in the abstract in cases where they were unable to comprehend the uses for which the piece of art was intended,—should feel the artistic beauty of a poem or a painting, without even understanding more than the barest outline of the subject. Yet it is surely no exaggeration to say that this is the especial province of taste, that these are the very cases which serve to distinguish the man of genius from one who is only empirically skilled in such matters.

Further on in this lecture Mr. Mansel states the issue of the controversy for the warning of those who have not yet ventured on the slippery ground of rationalism. We will give it in his own words:—

'Taking into account the various questions whose answers, on the one side or the other, form the sum total of Evidences for or against the claims of the Christian Faith;—the genuineness and authenticity of the documents; the judgment and good faith of the writers; the testimony to the actual occurrence of prophecies and miracles, and their relation to the religious teaching with which they are connected; the character of the Teacher Himself, that one portrait, which, in its perfect purity and holiness and beauty, stands alone and unapproached in human history or human fiction; those rites and ceremonies of the elder Law, so significant as typical of Christ, so strange and meaningless without Him; those predictions of the promised Messiah, whose obvious meaning is rendered still more manifest by the futile ingenuity which strives to pervert them; the history of the rise and progress of Christianity, and its comparison with that of other religions; the ability or inability of human means to bring about the results which it actually accomplished; its antagonism to the current ideas of the age and country of its origin; its effects as a system on the moral and social condition of subsequent generations of mankind; its fitness to satisfy the wants and console the sufferings of human nature;

the character of those by whom it was first promulgated and received ; the sufferings which attested the sincerity of their convictions ; the comparative trustworthiness of ancient testimony and modern conjecture ; the mutual contradictions of conflicting theories of unbelief, and the inadequacy of all of them to explain the facts for which they are bound to account ;— taking all these and similar questions into full consideration, are you prepared to affirm, as the result of the whole inquiry, that Jesus of Nazareth was an impostor, or an enthusiast, or a mythical figment ; and his disciples crafty and designing, or well-meaning but deluded men ? For be assured, that nothing short of this is the conclusion which you must maintain, if you reject one jot or one tittle of the whole doctrine of Christ. Either He was what He proclaimed Himself to be—the Incarnate Son of God, the Divine Saviour of a fallen world,—and if so, we may not divide God's Revelation, and dare to put asunder what He has joined together,—or the civilized world for eighteen centuries has been deluded by a cunningly devised fable ; and He from whom that fable came has turned that world from darkness to light, from Satan to God, with a lie in His right hand.'—*The Limits of Religious Thought Examined*, pp. 247—9.

The author claims that the external evidence of revelation having been once admitted, as sufficient to outweigh the arguments that can be alleged against it, all such arguments should be set aside as worthless ; that men are no longer at liberty to make an eclectic system, believing such of its doctrines as may appear to adapt themselves to their enlightened reason, and rejecting at pleasure such as they do not, on whatever ground, choose to accept. The spirit of the Sadducees, who said that there is no resurrection, neither angel nor spirit, is exactly similar to that modern semi-rationalism which makes its selection from the doctrines of revealed truth, and which he truly observes is far less reasonable than either the firm belief which accepts the whole, or the total unbelief which will accept nothing.

'Christ can be our Redeemer only if He is what He proclaims Himself to be, the Son of God, sent into the world, that the world through Him might be saved. If He is not this, His moral teaching began with falsehood, and was propagated by delusion. And if He is this, what but contempt and insult can be found in that half-allegiance which criticises while it bows ; which sifts and selects while it submits ; which approves or rejects as its reason or its feelings or its nervous sensibilities may dictate ; which condescends to acknowledge Him as the teacher of a dark age and an ignorant people ; bowing the knee before him, half in reverence, half in mockery, and crying, "Hail, King of the Jews." If Christ is a mere human teacher, we of this nineteenth century can no more be Christians than we can be Platonists or Aristotelians : He belongs to that past which cannot repeat itself : His modes of thought are not ours : His difficulties are not ours : His needs are not ours. He may be our Teacher, but not our Master ; for no man is master over the free thoughts of his fellow men : we may learn from him, but we sit in judgment while we learn : we modify his teaching by the wisdom of later ages : we refuse the evil and choose the good. But remember that we can do this, only if Christ is a mere human teacher, or if we of these later days have received a newer and a better revelation. If now, as of old, He speaks as never man spake ;—if God, who at sundry times and in divers manners, spake in time past unto the fathers by the

prophets, hath in these last days spoken unto us by His Son,—what remains for us to do but to cast down imaginations, and every high thing that exalteth itself against the knowledge of God, and to bring into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ. The witness which Christ offers of Himself either proves everything, or it proves nothing. No man has a right to say, "I will accept Christ as I like, and reject Him as I like : I will follow the holy Example; I will turn away from the atoning Sacrifice : I will listen to His teaching; I will have nothing to do with His mediation : I will believe Him when he tells me that He came from the Father, because I feel that His doctrine has a divine beauty and fitness ; but I will not believe Him when He tells me that He is one with the Father; because I cannot conceive how this unity is possible." This is not philosophy, which thus mutilates man : this is not Christianity, which thus divides Christ. If Christ is no more than one of us, let us honestly renounce the shadow of allegiance to an usurped authority, and boldly proclaim that every man is his own Redeemer. If Christ is God, no less than man, let us beware, lest haply we be found even to fight against God.'—*Ibid.* pp. 253—5.

Now, valuable and true as all this is, there is an apparent weakness in it, regarded in a logical point of view, which Mr. Mansel's opponents will not be slow to detect. There is really substituted in the place of the letter of Scripture, the Church's scheme of doctrine ; it will be called a *petitio principii* by many who will deny that they are rationalists, and who profess to hold by the truths of Scripture as they are there stated. The previous lecture certainly in some degree prepared the way for this, and takes away somewhat of the character of abruptness which it wears ; but it matters not at what point the objection is taken, whether at the end of the eighth or at the beginning of the seventh lecture. The plea will be urged, and that perhaps honestly by some, that they do not object to the sacred doctrines of the Trinity in Unity, the Atonement, &c. because they are repugnant to reason or common sense, or their moral sentiments, but because they are not, upon the whole, the doctrines that best represent the different statements scattered over Holy Scripture, or the tone which seems to pervade it. It is, however, a sufficient answer to this objection, that so far forth as this allegation is true, the objector puts himself beyond the scope proposed to himself by the lecturer, who only proposes to show the unreasonableness of those who, on rationalistic grounds, object to such and such acknowledged doctrines of revelation ; to which, no doubt, it may be truly added, that such persons are far more under the influence of the rationalistic spirit than they themselves know, or at least than they are careful to avow—and it would be no satisfaction to such objectors to allege, what is nevertheless most true, that on descending from generals to particulars, from abstractions to exemplifications, it is impossible not to imply some scheme of doctrine.

The state of present controversies apparently has left

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Mr. Mansel no alternative. He was obliged to rest the issue between himself and the rationalists on the written Revelation which they do in various degrees profess to accept as an historical record of some authority, and not on the scheme of doctrine which the Church proposes, and which they have entirely rejected. He must be content to have removed some ground of objection to the doctrines of the faith, and leave his *argumentum ad hominem* to work its way in spite of the disclaimers, which will be loudly uttered by those who either think, or profess to think, that they are beyond its reach. The effect too will be more powerful with the bystander, who witnesses the controversy, and who may see further than the rationalist disputant himself into the motives which influence his disbelief.

Holy Scripture does not indeed contain any scheme of doctrine, drawn out ready for the reader. It was not to be expected that it should; and Mr. Mansel, in taking for granted as he does in the above extracts, that it teaches the doctrines of the Eternal Trinity in Unity, and the Atoning Sacrifice on the Cross, has undoubtedly confined himself to the barest fundamentals of the faith,—doctrines in which the great majority of Christians, both those who follow the teaching of the Catholic Church, and those who profess to derive their faith direct from the Bible—acquiesce. In point of fact, his argument is directed mainly against those who are glad enough to admit that these doctrines are the teaching of the Scriptures, persons who perhaps began with the attempt to explain away the statements of Scripture in order to reconcile them to reason, and who, on finding the task hopeless, have adopted another tack, and insist upon these very doctrines with the view of disproving the claims of the book in which they are contained, to be divinely inspired or entitled to credit.

We have begun with the last of these lectures, in the hope of making our remarks upon them more intelligible and interesting; and we trust that the account we have given of the conclusions arrived at, will induce some of our readers to read the book for themselves, and perhaps afford them some assistance in the task, which they will find no light one. It remains that we should give some account of the lecturer's plan, and the method by which he has arrived at his conclusion.

The first lecture is occupied with the statement of the case and the explanation of the necessity for the investigation which follows; a necessity which the writer seems to think forced upon him by two classes of thinkers, who are respectively denominated dogmatists and rationalists; who have this characteristic in common, that they unduly use reason upon divine things, the former defending revelation, the latter attacking it either in

whole or in part with the same weapons. The mode in which the doctrine of the Atonement has been handled by writers, on both sides, the one party attempting to prove that man's Redemption could not have been brought about by other means, the others arguing its inconsistency with Divine Justice, &c., affords a specimen of the state of things which the Bampton Lecturer attempts to meet. He enters protest against the measuring divine truth by human reason, whether it be attempted to support or refute; and in explanation of this protest proceeds to examine first the limits of human thought in general, and then the limits of religious thought in particular. It will be thought by many that the argument is double-edged, and tells as much against dogmatism as rationalism. Neither does the author at all disclaim the imputation, though nothing can be plainer than that the whole tone of the book is meant as an attack on rationalism, and not on dogmatism. It must not, however, be supposed that anything contained in the Bampton Lectures at all militates against any scheme of dogmatic theology. The author is not concerned with any such arguments, for instance, as those which attempt to show the consistency of the system of the Church, as such, with itself or with Holy Scripture. For all that appears in these lectures the author may believe with Protestants that each man may find his faith for himself in Holy Scripture, or may interpret the sixth article of the Church of England in a way more consonant with Catholic doctrine. Their argument stands altogether aloof from this subject. No question is raised, as might have been raised, between the Church as the depository of the traditions of revelation, and her opponents. This may afford subject for subsequent inquiry. The present issue lies between those who have drifted far away from this position, who have given up all faith in a living body, authoritative in matters of doctrine, but who hold with more or less of deference to the Book which contains the written revelation of truth. The author has indeed been unguarded in his expressions on this subject even in his first lecture, and we think misrepresented in his text, the expression as quoted from S. Anselm in the notes. But this is perhaps only one instance of the uncertainty of the boundary which he fixes for human reason, though we must admit we should have been glad to see a little more light thrown upon this matter. However, a theory may be worth something, though it may not be all that we could wish; and the establishment of certain lines within which the limits of human thought lie, may have its use, though it be impossible to lay down the exact line of demarcation. And we may well be content if, in any stage of the discussion, the distinction can be clearly pointed out between that union of philo-

sophy and religion which contributes to their mutual support, and that which ‘undermines the foundations, and preys upon ‘the life of both.’ Accordingly, Mr. Mansel hopes to show in his succeeding lectures that the limits of religious and philosophical thought are the same, and to cut away the ground from rationalism in religion, by showing that, in philosophy, human reason is encumbered and embarrassed with precisely the same kind of difficulties. He appears unable to wait for the natural course of his argument, but, as it were by anticipation, in his first lecture bursts out into an eloquent invective against the inconsistency of rationalism. It is a long passage, but the reader will thank us for presenting him with it entire:—

‘They may not, forsooth, think of the unchangeable God as if He were their fellow-man, influenced by human motives, and moved by human supplications. They want a truer, a juster idea of the Deity as He is, than that under which He has been pleased to reveal Himself; and they call on their reason to furnish it. Fools, to dream that man can escape from himself, that human reason can draw aught but a human portrait of God! They do but substantiate a marred and mutilated humanity for one exalted and entire: they add nothing to their conception of God as He is, but only take away a part of their conception of man. Sympathy, and love, and fatherly kindness, and forgiving mercy, have evaporated in the crucible of their philosophy; and what is the *caput mortuum* that remains, but only the sterner features of humanity exhibited in repulsive nakedness? The God who listens to prayer, we are told, appears in the likeness of human mutability. Be it so. What is the God who does not listen, but the likeness of human obstinacy? Do we ascribe to Him fixed purpose? our conception of a purpose is human. Do we speak of Him as continuing unchanged? our conception of continuance is human. Do we conceive Him as knowing and determining? what are knowledge and determination but modes of human consciousness? and what know we of consciousness itself, but as the contrast between successive mental states? But our rational philosopher stops short in the middle of his reasoning. He strips off from humanity just so much as suits his purpose;—“and the residue thereof he maketh a god;”—less pious in his idolatry than the carver of the graven image, in that he does not fall down unto it and pray unto it, but is content to stand afar off and reason concerning it. And why does he retain any conception of God at all, but that he retains some portions of an imperfect humanity? Man is still the residue that is left; deprived indeed of all that is amiable in humanity, but, in the darker features which remain, still man. Man in his purposes; man in his inflexibility; man in that relation to time from which no philosophy, whatever its pretensions, can wholly free itself; pursuing with indomitable resolution a preconceived design; deaf to the yearning instincts which compel his creatures to call upon him. Yet this, forsooth, is a philosophical conception of the Deity, more worthy of an enlightened reason than the human imagery of the Psalmist: “The eyes of the Lord are over the righteous, and His ears are open unto their prayers.”

‘Surely, downright idolatry is better than this *rational* worship of a fragment of humanity. Better is the superstition which sees the image of God in the wonderful whole which God has fashioned, than the philosophy which would carve for itself a Deity out of the remnant which man has mutilated. Better to realize the satire of the Eleatic philosopher, to make

God in the likeness of man, even as the ox or the horse might conceive gods in the form of oxen or horses, than to adore some half-hewn Hermes, the head of a man joined to a misshapen block. Better to fall down before that marvellous compound of human consciousness whose elements God has joined together, and no man can put asunder, than to strip reason of those cognate elements which together furnish all that we can conceive or imagine of conscious or personal existence, and to deify the emptiest of all abstractions, a something or a nothing, with just enough of its human original left to form a theme for the disputations of philosophy, but not enough to furnish a single ground of appeal to the human feelings of love, of reverence, and of fear. Unmixed idolatry is more religious than this. Undisguised atheism is more logical.'—*Ibid.* pp. 17—20.

This passage affords a good specimen of what may be expected to appear as the general result of the whole inquiry; which, as far as the argument is concerned, and omitting such pieces of oratory as are dispersed pretty uniformly over the sermons, and which form agreeable interludes in the reading, as they must have proved resting-places in the hearing, proceeds systematically and in a very business-like manner.

Most people who have thought at all upon religious subjects know something, if not theoretically yet practically, of the limits of religious thoughts. According to the different period in which he has lived, the different school with which he has been connected, each has, in some way or other, crossed some one or more of those great questions which stand out, and seem to bid defiance to inquiry. Even the least intellectual class of minds have encountered difficulties, which must necessarily have presented themselves, at the very outset of religious thought. The deep questions of the origin of evil; the compatibility of its existence with the infinite perfection of the Creator; the co-existence of foreknowledge on the part of God and freewill on the side of man, and many others, present themselves to the learned and the unlearned alike. They appear at the outset, and in the course of every investigation, and they recur with undiminished mystery at the conclusion of the most elaborate inquiry. They are very often approached from the side of religion. Minds well disciplined and trained in religion light upon them very early; and the effect produced by them varies considerably, according to the strength of the intellectual character or the devotional habits of the individual. But in most cases we apprehend no ill effect is produced by their occurring in this way. An unsophisticated mind soon settles the matter for itself. It discerns, in fact, a limit which, whatever may be the case with others, it is at least hopeless for itself to transcend. It possesses an instinctive or intuitive power, call it which you will, which defines the boundary of the intelligible and the mysterious; which points out the depths where no

glimmering of light can penetrate, and from which it returns to those twilight regions into whose recesses a practised eye may gradually gain a clearer insight. The subjective limits of religious thought are known, with almost unerring accuracy, to a mind well constituted, and not warped by the pride of intellect. We might almost go further;—we should not be far from the truth in ascribing to a well-balanced mind the power of ascertaining what subjects are within the range of human cognisance, and how far they afford proper objects for human faculties in the abstract, and without reference to itself or any given class of minds.

Unfortunately, however, these same limits are often approached from an opposite quarter; and there is a current belief that mysteries may be made to disappear before the advancing tide of human intelligence. To one who will pause here, and fairly put before himself the questions—What has human reason done for the solution of those mysteries which presented themselves in the very infancy of philosophy?—and What light are rationalistic systems throwing upon the questions with which they profess to deal?—the practical reply to rationalism, as it is called, will present itself with unmistakable force: and the thought that action, not speculation, is manifestly our business in this world, will come in with additional weight, when coupled with the undeniable fact, that, up to the present moment at least, mankind have been left wholly destitute of information on theories which are the sum and substance of all rationalistic philosophy. The rationalist, with whom the intellectual advancement of the race is everything,—the people who vaguely talk of the Church of the Future, regardless of the temporal and eternal interests of the millions of souls existing in the Church of the Present,—will not, indeed, be affected by such thoughts; but we must confess we have some confidence that that common sense, which seems the peculiar inheritance of Englishmen, will repudiate such unpractical vagaries, and detect the inconsistencies which lurk beneath the high-sounding terms and the abstractions of metaphysical science. For the sake of those who can go deeper into the matter (who are acquainted with the language of philosophical works), the show-up of the different theories of rationalism, by exhibiting their inconsistencies with each other, and then the contradictions which each system taken by itself involves, is done by Mr. Mansel in most masterly style. He knows his men, and is perfectly familiar with his weapons. The Absolute and the Infinite are brought into collision with damaging effect to both. That these subjects are beyond the boundaries of human thought, is shown, both by the absurdities into which writers

on the subject have been plunged, and by the contradictions which the very ideas themselves involve. The truth is, these terms are but the invention of those who would get rid of the intuitive belief in a Personal God, to whom man is responsible. They represent nothing but negatives; and are, as it were, abstractions, which their originators dress up with qualities of their own invention, and reproduce in the concrete for the deception of themselves and their followers. *The Infinite* does not mean either infinite goodness, or infinite wisdom, or infinite power; much less does it mean the infinite aggregate of all these qualities. When we speak of a line in mathematics being produced indefinitely, whatever difficulties may be engendered by the introduction of the term *indefinitely*, we at least do not lose sight, or in any degree obscure, the idea which we had previously formed of the finite line which we suppose produced. Whatever difficulties may be involved in the contemplation of infinity, the idea itself, in connexion with its subject, is not *merely* negative. We can argue about them as about positive existences. Thus, every mathematician is accustomed to argue about lines which, though produced indefinitely, do not approach each other; and again of lines which approach each other and are asymptotic, and again of lines which approach each other without being asymptotic. Infinity is not a mere negation, but an extension of that which is positive; and we can form no idea of it except in connexion with and from the side of the positive. Many calculations involving the infinite can be gone through on certain hypotheses of its connexion with the finite; as, for instance, it is easy to compute the exact amount of area contained between certain lines which are produced indefinitely, provided only there is something finite in the problem; but infinity in the abstract is a mere negation of the finite, and as such is subject to no computation, because it is no subject for thought.

There is, if possible, still more of vagueness connected with the use of the phrase '*the absolute*.' Indeed, if the definition quoted by the author (p. 300) from Calderwood's 'Philosophy of the Infinite,' be accepted, viz. 'that which is free from all *necessary* relation, that is free from every relation as a condition of existence,' the philosophy of the absolute starts from a glaringly false hypothesis of the Deity. If, however, the safer plan be adopted of avoiding a definition altogether, the idea of the Absolute merges, like that of the Infinite, into a mere negation. In reality, both these terms are mere inventions of modern philosophy to get quit of the natural idea which people, who are not philosophers, find forced upon them from every point of view. Neither in nature nor revelation has

God presented Himself to man's view either as the Absolute or the Infinite. Natural religion does indeed give us intelligible hints of His power, wisdom, and goodness; and Revelation sanctions the conception which we form of His power being almighty, His wisdom infinite, His goodness perfect. And the approach to the contemplation of the nature of God from this side, whatever mysteries it may present to our view, is certainly not involved in the absurdities and contradictions which arise from the constrained position in which metaphysicians have placed themselves. As to the impossibility of making any consistent theory from the starting point of the absolute and the infinite, we entirely concur with the author: yet his argument is pushed beyond its proper limits when he recounts the contradictions involved in the particular modifications of infinity. The collision of infinite power, able to do all things, and infinite goodness, unable to sin, presents no semblance of contradiction; for from whatever side the idea of power be approached,—whether infinity be first understood and then applied in this particular category, or whether we begin with power, presenting itself to us in a finite form, and thence form our conceptions of infinite power,—power must of necessity have its objects; and to do wrong is no object of power; and, therefore, inability to sin is no derogation from Almighty power.

There remains yet the conception of the Deity as First Cause; and the conclusion which the author arrives at in his second lecture, from the collision of the three ideas of the *Absolute*, the *Infinite*, and the *First Cause*, which he has succeeded in exhibiting, is, that 'We must begin with that which is within 'us, not with that which is above us; with the philosophy 'of man, not with that of God.' Our own conclusion would have been somewhat differently expressed; namely, that we should begin our investigations in the method which nature points out and revelation seems to sanction. Thus the feeling of weakness and dependence perhaps naturally suggests the idea of One who shall be a supply to its wants, and a support under affliction; a sense of isolation may naturally lead him who is conscious of it to One who may be able to supply the void; a consciousness of sin may direct the way to One gifted with the power to put it away, and the will to absolve; and again, the habitual view of the relation of cause and effect certainly points in the direction of a First Cause and Originator of all things; whilst the contemplation in any given individual of the workings of his own mind, naturally develops towards the belief in a superintending Mind, of which his own is in some sort a resemblance. We differ from Mr. Mansel in placing the idea of a 'First Cause' in quite a distinct category from those of the 'Absolute' and the

'Infinite.' These are but evidences of an attempt to get away from the suggestions of nature; whereas the idea of a 'First Cause' seems like the necessary supplement to the idea of cause. And it is quite worth while to observe, that all the arguments adduced to show the antagonism of the ideas of the *Absolute*, the *Infinite*, and the *First Cause*, are quite harmless when levelled against the remaining one of these ideas, after they have succeeded in shattering the other two. It remains, that any objection against the doctrine of a First Cause should take the ground of the idea being inconsistent with itself, and involving contradictions in itself.

Our author's strong point in his second lecture is, the irreconcilableness of the idea of the Absolute and the First Cause. But the Absolute is not the conception which we naturally form of the Deity. To our mind the term does not convey any idea at all. It would, however, be absurd to say that the idea of First Cause is unintelligible; neither can it be truly said of it, that it involves contradictions, whatever inscrutable mysteries may cluster round it. We do not here enter upon the question of the origin of this idea, whether it is from within or from above us. Neither do we know exactly how far we differ from Mr. Mansel; but we seem to be able to trace here the germ of that difference of opinion which we have insisted on in the earlier part of this paper. We cannot help thinking that Mr. Mansel throughout views matters in too exclusively a logical aspect. After the distinction is once laid down between the philosophy of the object and the philosophy of the subject of religion, there is little recognition in these lectures of the truth, that, however theoretically distinct these modes of philosophy may be, yet in practice they will be always entrenching upon each other's ground; the teacher and the disciple being alike ignorant at times to which science their lucubrations belong.

Consistent with himself, the author proceeds, after having argued at some length, that a philosophy of the Infinite, the Absolute, and the First Cause is impossible, to lay down that the *finite* only can be conceived by the human subject; that a commencement of time is therefore inconceivable; which, by a strange confusion of thought, seems to him to involve also the truth that an act of creation is inconceivable. And by the help of the postulate—that to understand part of a subject is the same thing with understanding it partially—we are landed at the conclusion that what we can know positively of God is only relative and finite; though it may point to, and lead us to believe in, that which is infinite and absolute.

We need not follow the author minutely through his third

lecture. We believe we have fairly represented its scope. We are glad to be able to acquiesce in most of what is advanced in the fourth lecture as to the origin of religious ideas; though we should wish to have seen the '*consciousness of sin*' substituted for the '*conviction of moral obligation*,' as the state of mind which leads the way to, or enlarges the view of the goodness of God. But we must beg to enter our protest against the statement which again, however, is quite consistent with the author's theory,—that 'the fiction of an absolute law, "binding on all rational beings, has only an apparent universality; because we can only conceive other rational beings by identifying their constitution with our own, and making human reason the measure and representation of reason in general.'—P. 111.

We will give the result of Mr. Mansel's considerations as summed up by himself in the fourth lecture.

'The result of the preceding considerations may be summed up as follows. There are two modes in which we may endeavour to contemplate the Deity: the one negative, based on a vain attempt to transcend the conditions of human thought, and to expand the religious consciousness to the infinity of its Divine Object: the other positive, which keeps within its proper limits, and views the object in a manner accommodated to the finite capacities of the human thinker. The first aspires to behold God in His absolute nature: the second is content to view Him in those relations in which He has been pleased to manifest Himself to His creatures. The first aims at a *speculative* knowledge of God as He is; but, bound by the conditions of finite thought, even in the attempt to transgress them, obtains nothing more than a tissue of ambitious self-contradictions, which indicate only what He is not. The second, abandoning the speculative knowledge of the Infinite, as only possible to the Infinite Intelligence itself, is content with those *regulative* ideas of the Deity, which are sufficient to guide our practice, but not to satisfy our intellect;—which tell us, not what God is in Himself, but how He wills that we should think of Him. In renouncing all knowledge of the Absolute, it renounces at the same time all attempts to construct *a priori* schemes of God's Providence as it ought to be: it does not seek to reconcile this or that phenomenon, whether in nature or in revelation, with the absolute attributes of Deity; but confines itself to the actual course of that Providence, as manifested in the world; and seeks no higher internal criterion of the truth of a religion than may be derived from its analogy to other parts of the Divine Government. Guided by this, the only true Philosophy of Religion, man is content to practise where he is unable to speculate. He acts, as one who must give an account of his conduct: he prays, believing that his prayer will be answered. He does not seek to reconcile this belief with any theory of the Infinite; for he does not even know how the Infinite and the finite can exist together. But he feels that his several duties rest upon the same basis: he knows that, if human action is not incompatible with Infinite Power, neither is human worship with Infinite Wisdom and Goodness: though it is not as the Infinite that God reveals Himself in His moral government; nor is it as the Infinite that He promises to answer prayer.'—Pp. 126-8.

Mr. Mansel's view seems to us to amount to this:—that

rational beings, instead of dimly seeing the reality, see but the shadow of the eternal laws of morality ; thereby scarcely leaving room for that increasing power of perception which is the inheritance and the promise of the humble, the docile, and the pure in heart. He distinctly implies that we can know *that* God is, but that we cannot know *what* God is ; whereas some degree of knowledge as to what God is, is at once involved in the assertion that God is. The very text which the author has chosen for his third lecture, in which he develops his ideas of man's inability to get beyond the relative and the finite, is singularly inappropriate. Such expressions must not be pressed beyond what they can bear ; and we should have hesitated to allege it in defence of our position, that what we *may* see is reality and not shadow, had it not been brought to support the opposite view. We will quote it, and leave it with the reader to decide with which hypothesis it squares best. ‘And he said, Thou canst not see My face ; for there shall no man see ‘Me and live. And the Lord said, Behold, there is a place by ‘Me ; and thou shalt stand upon a rock : and it shall come to ‘pass, while My glory passeth by, that I will put thee in a ‘cleft of the rock, and will cover thee with My hand while I ‘pass by ; and I will take away My hand, and thou shalt see ‘My back parts, but My face shall not be seen.’¹

It will have been seen, from what has been already said, that one grand point of Mr. Mansel's theory is, that the highest principles of thought and action to which we can attain are *regulative* and not *speculative*. We take upon ourselves to say that it is also the weak point of the theory. Great as Mr. Mansel has shown himself to be in the work of destruction, and cleverly as he has used his weapons against rationalism, he has not succeeded in constructing a theory which will commend itself either to religious or philosophical minds. If we were disposed to caricature the style of argument adopted by this author, we should represent the matter somewhat as follows :—either God represents Himself to us as He is, or as He is not ;—and leave our readers to make their choice. But, we believe, more fallacies lie beneath these bipartite divisions than is commonly suspected. Dichotomies are almost always arranged for a foregone conclusion ; and we, therefore, prefer stating the case more directly ;—that it is involved in the very idea of God that He will reveal Himself to His creatures, if at all, in a mode which is *speculatively* true. We do not like the term, but have no other whereby to express so distinctly our disagreement from the theory of the *regulative* as against the

¹ Exod. xxxiii. 20—23.

speculative. If it be true that the highest principles of thought and action do not tell us what things are in themselves, but how we must conduct ourselves in relation to them, we should like to know how it is that the innocent and the saintly have such deep intuitive insight into abstract theological dogmas, such keen perception of false doctrine, in cases where philosophic minds of inferior degrees of holiness are utterly at fault. We want to know why it is that in arguments, where the deepest minds can scarcely follow the chain, and recognise the truth or falsehood of the conclusion,—the simple and the pure can pronounce at once, though they know not, at the moment, what applications the abstract proposition may admit of when reduced to practice? It is no solution of this difficulty to say that they recognise it in its relative capacity. Any one who has had the happiness to be conversant with such persons, must have seen how this power of fastening upon truth is independent of any supposed consequences to which it may lead, if on no other ground, because of the intellectual inability of the parties to follow principles out to their consequences. If truth were only revealed to us in a form such as should suffice to regulate our conduct in life, it would be indeed reasonable to suppose that the promise, that they who do the will of God should know of the doctrine, meant that such persons should be guided into right action; but we submit that the case we are now supposing shows that the meaning of it is, that the good not only shall be directed aright in the various relations of life, but shall be guided into all *truth*.

In the sixth and seventh lectures the *argumentum ad hominem* is resumed; and here we are presented with a masterly comparison between the difficulties of revelation and the difficulties of philosophy. We may refer the reader back to an article on 'Natural Theology' in this Review,¹ where we made some remarks on the origin of evil, in its relation to philosophy and revealed truth. The comparison here exhibited is on a more extended scale. In the sixth lecture the parallel is drawn between such dogmas of the Church as are urged to be in apparent opposition to the speculative reason, and those, whether the same or similar principles, which philosophy is obliged to adopt, but of which it can give no reasonable account; and in the seventh the author proceeds to those doctrines of revelation which have been pronounced by modern writers repugnant to man's moral reason. The comparison is well drawn out, and is, to our view, not in the least impaired by detracting from it that which the author no doubt considers

¹ See the Article on Natural Theology, *Christian Remembrancer*, January, 1857.

its very essence. The argument from analogy holds; and is just as conclusive against the rationalist, whether Mr. Mansel's view of the merely regulative nature of principles commend itself to the reader, or whether the more ordinary, and what appears to us, the more intelligible theory advocated in this article be adopted. There is, no doubt, remaining the refuge of denying the force of analogy,—and to this the bigoted rationalist will of course resort,—but the analogies pointed out will, we venture to say, nevertheless, be felt to be real. True analogies commend themselves to ordinary as well as to philosophic minds. It may not be easy, or it may even be impossible, to give an account of the matter, or to lay down any laws which shall form an unerring guide to arguments from analogy; yet most will feel that there is no evading its force when the analogy is real: and we doubt not that many of those who are loudest in its condemnation, and want, as it were, to move the previous question (why analogy is of weight?), are the more vehement in their complaints against it in proportion to the sense they have of its fretting and galling their own necks.

The real difference between Mr. Mansel and ourselves is, that he attempts to explain the principle on which the seeming contradictions, which meet us, not only at the outset of an investigation into religion, but on the very threshold of philosophy, may be accounted for. We, on the contrary, though declining to accept his explanation, offer no counter-theory, but leave the difficulties as we find them; quite content to recognise them as insoluble, and entirely concurring in the author's *argumentum ad hominem*.

Beyond this, we may be permitted to say, that we think Mr. Mansel has been very happy in his choice of subjects for comparison. Thus, the principle of causality, which is the foundation of philosophy, is paralleled with the existence of the Deity, on which the superstructure of theology is raised. Advancing further, and passing on from religion in general to Christianity in particular, we have the doctrine of the Blessed Trinity in Unity, matched against the mystery of plurality in unity; infinity of different attributes, making up one Infinite Essence. And here we again must caution our readers, and remind them that our agreement with the author is limited to the point of his argument being *ad hominem*. We cannot follow him in this point, where he appears to agree with the rationalist; viz. 'That there can be but one Infinite appears to be a necessary conclusion of reason.' On the contrary, we protest, as we have before explained, that an abstract infinite is a mere name for nothing; a term which means only 'not finite,' and to which no positive idea can be attached.

The next great doctrine of the Faith,—the doctrine of the co-eternal Son, begotten of the Father,—is compared with the philosophic difficulty of the relation between the Divine Essence and Attributes. In all these instances the case is well made out ; and we shall only add, that we think Mr. Mansel might have spared the explanation, that he does not adduce metaphysical parallels as proofs of Christian doctrine. No reader who had followed him thus far could possibly have so far misunderstood the drift of his argument ; and the reverential tone in which the whole work is conducted, renders such a statement wholly unnecessary. The last doctrine regarding the nature of the Godhead alluded to, is the union of the two natures in the One Person of our Blessed Lord ; and is paralleled with the philosophic difficulty of the co-existence of the finite and the infinite. We must confess that we were thoroughly surprised at the sentence which meets us at the conclusion of these remarks. Nothing could have been more natural than that a writer, who held, as we do, that the knowledge we may attain to of the divine nature is real and positive, as far as it goes, should express himself as follows :—

‘ Having thus endeavoured to exhibit the limits of human reason in relation to those doctrines of Holy Scripture which reveal to us the nature of God, I shall next attempt briefly to apply the same argument to those representations which more directly declare His relation to the world.’
—p. 183.

But that this sentence should have come from Mr. Mansel’s pen does surprise us, because it seems to admit a distinction between our knowledge of the nature of God in the abstract and our knowledge of it in relation. We do not for one moment suppose that we have caught Mr. Mansel tripping ; we have no doubt that the answer would be ready, and probably would be couched in language somewhat of this kind,—That there is a regulative knowledge of God as He exists in the abstract, and a regulative knowledge of what He is in relation to the world. Still, we have thought proper to draw attention to the inconsistency which, as it appears to us, exists between this division of the subjects which are said to be opposed to the speculative reason, and the theory that all we can know is of the relative and not of the absolute.

The comparison adduced by the author under this head is much less forcible than those we have been considering, though the subject itself is full of interesting suggestions. The twofold representation of God as acting by general laws and special interpositions,—the former mode being admitted, the latter denied, by the rationalist,—is represented as only a particular case, involving precisely the same difficulties as the rationalist’s

own conception of the creation of the finite by the Infinite. To our view this analogy does not appear to have much force, neither is this part of his subject handled with the ability which many parts of these lectures would have led us to expect. Fortunately the analogy is not needed, for the objection against the efficacy of prayer and the special interposition of Providence is just the weakest point in the whole domain of rationalism. These would-be philosophers ordinarily indulge in such vague generalities that the statement of their views, as well as their refutation, is alike beyond the power of ordinary readers to comprehend. It is only when they descend to those lower regions which are within the reach of common sense and of logic that we have any chance of exposing their crude conceptions to the scorn and contempt which they merit. The desire to get rid of the irksome duty of prayer finds its philosophical support in the supposed absolute uniformity of the laws of nature, which uniformity, under the pretence of doing homage to the Deity, is virtually substituted for the will of God. We should have no quarrel with such persons if they would but be consistent, and go on to deny the freedom of the human will and the responsibility of man either to his fellow-men or to his Maker. This they cannot, perhaps do not even wish to, deny; but whilst arrogating to the created being his dignity of being free to act and to do, they would bereave the Creator of this attribute, and reduce the idea of God to a mere general law. We can easily imagine the answer which will be tendered to this remark. It will be said, 'We do no such thing. We do not assert that the 'Creator is bound to act in one way more than in another. 'What we assert is, that the laws of nature, as elicited by induction in the material world, are, as a matter of fact, not interfered 'with, and that the conclusions of the more advanced of the 'material sciences afford sufficient indication of what may be 'expected from the application of the same processes to those 'sciences which are at present in their infancy.' We cannot surely be accused of overstating the case, or of putting it in an unfair light, for the purpose of dealing with it and refuting it. It will, we think, be admitted that this is a fair representation of the case as against the probability of special interferences of Providence and the efficacy of prayer, the value of which mainly depends upon God's power and will to interfere in answer to prayer. Some writers extend their investigations somewhat further, and include in their generalizations the statistical results which exhibit a uniformity in the caprices and vagaries of human will, and we are told that crime in general and its particular developments are the necessary consequences of certain combinations of circumstances, of climate, natural configuration,

early habituation, and the like. We do not, of course, wish to disparage the useful amount of information which under these heads has been collected together, or to undervalue knowledge of this kind which is of the highest interest to those whose business it is to legislate for the education of a people. We have only mentioned it for the sake of distinguishing two well-defined classes of thinkers; the first of whom are absorbed in the material world, and forgets to take any account of the world of mind; and the other, less narrow-minded, who push their speculations to the very verge of fatalism. Both these classes of thinkers, on whatever other wrong grounds they may adopt those principles of rationalism, which deny the reality of any mode of Divine interference except in the way of law which is cognizable by human faculties, are alike involved in an intellectual error as to the nature of the inductive process. It is assumed by both these classes of thinkers that there are no other inductions beyond those on which the results of physical science depend, and those statistical tables which predict the probability of the future of human conduct by numerical calculations founded on the past. We have never seen fair weight given to the allegation that, if everything is to be proved by induction, the principle of the efficacy of prayer is entitled to be weighed in the same balance. People cannot always depend upon their own experience for the facts on which they build their theories. If it were so, these rationalists would have been, on their own showing, quite incompetent judges of the matter: for it can be no breach of charity to suppose people do not practise that which they vehemently condemn. It must be reasonably supposed, moreover, that they have no past experience of this kind to rely upon, for if they had they could not, on reasonable grounds at least, have so entirely ignored it.

However, it would be very absurd to deny people the benefit of the experience and observations of others. We suppose few of the physical sciences would have made much progress had philosophers been debarred from the chronicled observations of their predecessors. So we think we need make no apology for referring the rationalist, who would be enlightened on this subject, to the experience of those who alone are capable of supplying him with the required facts. Perhaps it would be found that the efficacy of prayer is as soundly established a principle, to those who are capable of judging of the evidence, as many of the laws which are supposed to govern the material universe; whilst, unquestionably, it has this advantage over some of them, that it has not been forced from time to time to give way beneath the accumulating weight of facts which it was unable to account for. However, we have no desire either to compare or contrast the

evidence that may be produced for the efficacy of prayer with that for the bygone theories of geological science on which some people so confidently relied for overthrowing the Scriptural account of the Creation, and which have long since been scattered to the four winds of heaven. Neither do we mean to say that we rest our belief on this doctrine on any scheme of induction whatever. What we do mean to assert is, that it has a right to be tried by this standard, and that it is unphilosophical in the highest degree to refuse to entertain the evidence which it possesses, or to prejudge the question at issue, because in the judgment of the objector its abettors are pronounced superstitious enthusiasts or fanatics.

In this comparison the consideration is by no means to be neglected, that the inductions of the material world cannot from the nature of the case be perfect. There is no absolute certainty even of the principle on which the most magnificent of all physical sciences has been reared; we mean, of course, the principle of gravitation as evidenced in the various processes of physical astronomy. It is impossible that any law of nature can be so established as to leave no room for the possibility of variation therefrom. That the province of prayer may extend even into these high generalizations is quite conceivable, however improbable it may appear; whilst it seems to us there is a peculiar significance, in the subjects to which its province is mainly restricted being such as are least reducible to the dominion of abstract law. We can easily imagine the pleasant mode in which a pious individual might be represented as pleading for a reversal of the fixed order of things by which a planet will appear at a given moment at the place assigned for it by calculation; but, in truth, there is nothing ludicrous in the fact of an ignorant person hoping to prevail with God to prevent that which another person may have good reason to think inevitable; nor anything again unreasonable in the religious man profiting by the advance of science, and abstaining from requests which previously to such knowledge he might have preferred without rebuke.

Elsewhere in this Review¹ we have alluded to the uncertainty which must of necessity attach to the best established conclusions of induction, and we make no apology for the repetition of the same here; for it is a truth, if not actually denied, yet much ignored by all writers on these subjects; and it is of the utmost consequence, because the establishment of certainty in any one case would afford some colour to the pretentious assertion that certainty may be attained in all cases. The provinces of general

¹ See the Article already referred to, and another on The Will Divine and Human, *ibid.* April, 1857.

law and special interposition not only have always been as they at the present moment are, indefinite as to their precise limits, but, as we have said, from the very nature of the case, must ever remain so. Overlapping the boundaries of each, and perhaps occupying ground which belongs to neither, lies the domain of the miraculous, stretching out indiscernibly into the territories of each. And here lie so many of those mysteries which must for ever continue to baffle the researches of reason, and which can only be quietly and contentedly viewed by the eye of faith, ever exercising itself, and gaining a clearer insight, not of the boundary lines themselves, but of the absence of any necessity for such distinctions.

In the seventh lecture the author proceeds to exemplify his principle of the Limits of Religious Thought in the examination of certain doctrines of Christianity which have been considered repugnant to the Moral Reason. We have already said enough to indicate that in quoting the following extract we demur to the general principles involved in it. The extract itself will serve to show more plainly than perhaps has yet appeared, what the author's view is; and, moreover, affords a good specimen of the mode in which he attacks rationalism with its own weapons, and the skill with which he arranges his *argumentum ad hominem* with his opponents:—

'The Atoning Sacrifice of Christ has been the mark assailed by various attacks of this kind, some of them not very consistent with each other; but all founded on some supposed incongruity between this doctrine and the moral attributes of the Divine Nature. By one critic, the doctrine is rejected because it is more consistent with the infinite mercy of God to pardon sin freely, without any atonement whatsoever. By another, because, from the unchangeable nature of God's laws, it is impossible that sin can be pardoned at all. A third maintains that it is unjust that the innocent should suffer for the sins of the guilty. A fourth is indignant at the supposition that God can be angry; while a fifth cannot see by what moral fitness the shedding of blood can do away with sin or its punishment. The principle which governs these and similar objections is, that we have a right to assume that there is, if not a perfect identity, at least an exact resemblance between the moral nature of man and that of God; that the laws and principles of infinite justice and mercy are but magnified images of those which are manifested on a finite scale; that nothing can be compatible with the boundless goodness of God, which is incompatible with the little goodness of which man may be conscious in himself.'

'The value of this principle, as an absolute criterion of religious truth, may be tested by the simple experiment of applying the same reasoning to an imaginary revelation constructed on the rational principles of some one of the objectors. Let us suppose, then, that, instead of the Christian doctrine of the Atonement, the Scriptures had told us of an absolute and unconditional pardon of sin following upon the mere repentance of the sinner. It is easy to imagine how ready our reasoning theologians would be with their philosophical criticisms, speculative or moral. Does it not, they might say, represent man as influencing God;—the finite as controlling, by the act of repentance, the unchangeable self-determinations of the Infinite?

Does it not depict the Deity as acting in time, as influenced by motives and occasions, and as subject to human feelings? Does it not tend to weaken our impression of the hatefulness of sin, and to encourage carelessness in the sinner, by the easy terms on which he is promised forgiveness? If it is unworthy of God to represent Him as angry and needing to be propitiated, how can philosophy tolerate the conception that He is placable, and to be softened by repentance? And what moral fitness has repentance to do away with the guilt or punishment of a past transgression? Whatever moral fitness there exists between righteousness and God's favour, the same must exist between sin and God's anger: in whatever degree that which deserves punishment is not punished, in that degree God's justice is limited in its operation. A strictly moral theory requires, therefore, not free forgiveness, but an exactly graduated proportion between guilt and suffering, virtue and happiness. If, on the other hand, we maintain that there is no moral fitness in either case, we virtually deny the existence of a moral Deity at all: we make God indifferent to good or evil as such: we represent Him as rewarding and punishing arbitrarily and with respect of persons. The moral objection, in truth, so far as it has any weight at all, has no special application to the Christian doctrine: it lies against the entire supposition of the remission of sins on any terms and by any means: and if it has been more strongly urged by rationalists against the Christian representation than against others, this is merely because the former has had the misfortune to provoke hostility by being found in the Bible.'—Pp. 211—14.

Such, we believe, is a fair account of Mr. Mansel's work. It is possible that the reader who has taken the trouble to master the book itself, and then proceeds to the perusal of the remarks we have thought it our duty to make upon it, may think we have occasionally misrepresented or misunderstood him. We trust this is not the case, but in such abstractions it is very difficult for two writers, differing in their views, to throw themselves entirely into the theory which they do not embrace; and the propositions from which we dissent are so mixed up with others to which we give a hearty assent, that it has not been easy to represent the exact point at which we part company from our author.

To repeat what we have elsewhere implied, Mr. Mansel seems to think that we can know that certain ideas which we form have real existences corresponding to them, but denies that we know more than *that* they exist, refusing to admit that we at all know *what* they are. Thus we are supposed to be furnished with the knowledge that God *is*, and to be entirely in the dark as to *what* He *is*, except so far as He is revealed,—that Revelation being, from the nature of the case, *regulative*, and, as it were, a *mere* condescension to human infirmity.

Similarly,—the knowledge to which we can attain of justice, for instance, is not of justice as it exists in the Divine nature, but only of justice in its human manifestations; we may know that there is such a thing as justice, we cannot know *what* it is except in a representation adapted to our faculties.

In contradistinction to this view, it seems to us that it is necessarily involved in the knowledge that God is, that we have some true idea of *what He is*,—*e.g.* that He possesses the attributes of power, justice, goodness, love. And again, to be able to pronounce that justice exists at all, implies some faint knowledge at least of what it really is; just in the same way as the person who can pronounce upon the existence of the five regular solids, and the impossibility of any others, has a true view, however imperfect, of what they really are by the very ability which he possesses of distinguishing them from other impossible combinations of faces, edges, and angles. To be able to pronounce that a regular tetrahedron exists, is to know something of its real nature; it is the first step in a progress which admits of indefinite extension, which can never be deemed complete till all that can be said or thought about it is known. It is no reply to this to deny the analogy on the ground that we are comparing the finite with the Infinite. We have already said, that to speak of God as being *the Infinite*, conveys to our mind no positive idea whatever. And we are utterly unable to see why, in the contemplation of the attributes of power, wisdom, goodness, the knowledge that these attributes are infinite or perfect, should be thought to alter the nature of those finite portions of them which are subjected to our view; or how it can be denied that we may push our investigations into the infinite, when it is notorious that mathematical science can take cognisance of numbers continued to infinity, and of lines produced *ad infinitum*.

In moral science as well as in speculative reasoning, we approach the infinite from the finite: as in mathematics we must know what the nature of the curve is before we can ascertain anything about its infinite branches, so in theology there is an absurdity in speaking of the infinite unless you apply the term to some nature of which you know something in the finite. Nothing is more common among mathematicians than to sum an infinite series; or, to take a similar instance from geometry, to ascertain the area enclosed between the infinite branches of a curve. There are many points connected with the subject which never have been reduced to any rule of computation, and many which will for ever elude investigation, just because we can only know the infinite up to a certain point. But our knowledge of it in the cases which we have just alluded to is quite as real and quite as certain as any knowledge we possess of the properties of the curve which do not involve the idea of infinity. We do not use the argument in the mere way of analogy. We do not at all care to have it represented as a probability that, because we can really derive true and demonstrable results from calculations of the infinite in geometry, that it may be so in theology.

It is no analogy; it is rather an instance in point to show that the infinite, in some of its manifestations at least, is not beyond the grasp of human intellect.

We shall be thought by some, perhaps, to be running very close to Mr. Mansel's view of the *regulative* nature of that knowledge of divine things to which we can attain, if we avow our conviction, that though human thought is able to reach to a true conception of them, yet human language is unable adequately to express it. Laws cannot be laid down by human legislators, however closely they may wish to adhere to the original of all law, in language which shall be wholly free from exception; the commands to do, and to abstain, laid down even in the Decalogue, are not so expressed as in their exact letter to represent exactly, and without possibility of exceptional cases, the law of God written in the heart. There is, perhaps, an inherent inability in human language to give expression to a law which shall provide, in one abstract sentence, for the almost endless variety and complication of circumstances in which men may have to act. But the inadequacy of language to express, is very different from the inability of thought to conceive. We have had occasion, in an earlier part of this paper, to refer to the science of astronomy for an illustration, and it will provide us another example in point here, which will at least serve to illustrate what we mean. Every one who has advanced beyond the merest elements of astronomical science, is familiar with the mode in which the first crude conceptions of the motions of the heavenly bodies is expressed, and how advancing knowledge shows that the statements were in themselves not true, but only rough approximations to the truth. Language has no power of dealing with the case except by abstracting circumstances, which the learner cannot comprehend, and stating generally, what results are like, not what they really are, and what would take place under certain absence of conditions, which never in fact can be realized. Instances of this will occur at once to every one with regard to the representation made of the figure of the earth, the rotation on its axis, the paths of the planetary bodies, the motion of the whole solar system in space. We have in our day witnessed a ridiculous controversy as to whether the moon moved round on her axis, a dispute which never could have arisen at all if this fundamental difficulty of language which appears in every astronomical truth had been borne in mind. We must remind our readers here, that we are only making use of the analogy of this science in the way of illustration, and not as if it *proved* anything at all as to the point at issue between Mr. Mansel and ourselves.

Now the propositions of which we have been speaking as

presented to the learner in astronomy, in comparison with the actual truths which this science in its present state of perfection lays before the mind of the astronomer, are somewhat analogous to the regulative truths which Mr. Mansel speaks of in theology, as contrasted with those speculative truths which are beyond the reach of human faculties. In astronomy, such statements are in themselves true thus far, that with the superposition of other statements, they would represent the whole truth. They are, moreover, true in themselves, as representing what would take place in obedience to known laws of causation, if certain circumstances of fact could be dispensed with. As such they seem to us to resemble those *regulative* truths, as Mr. Mansel calls them, which, in common with him, we regard as imperfect and inadequate representations, but which we feel assured are integral portions, and not mere shadows of the truth itself.

The author does not write as if he had any misgiving of the truth of his main position, but he frequently provides against what he would call misconceptions of it, and protests against over-statements. He is aware that his theory is very like the view that we are entirely ignorant of the real nature of things; that human beings are consigned to a hopeless state of scepticism. He evidently expects that some of his readers will think he has substituted entire ignorance in the place of that partial knowledge which points the way to, and is itself part of, that knowledge to which we hope to attain hereafter. Amongst such readers we must be content to rank ourselves; and we earnestly hope that in what we have said we shall not deter any reader from reading this remarkable book and judging for himself. The confutation of rationalism is complete, and we venture to think unanswerable; and it would not have been one whit the less forcible if it had not been engrafted on the questionable theory which we have been attempting to analyse. With the exception of this general view which does not in the least affect any argument which is adduced against any particular rationalistic view, there is scarcely anything in the book which we do not heartily approve.

We must not part from this interesting volume without calling attention to the notes, which occupy the largest portion of the work. The author has certainly not followed the precedent, of which there are not wanting many examples among his predecessors, the Bampton Lecturers of past years, of making up a volume to reach a certain price, by enlarging it with unmeaning extracts and quotations from other authors. The notes appended to these lectures are especially valuable. They contain numerous extracts from the works of rationalistic and infidel writers, both of Germany and of our own country. It is, perhaps, not

altogether fair to judge of any writer from extracts from his works made by a professed enemy. Yet we cannot deny our satisfaction at seeing congregated together in their naked absurdity the vague and unmeaning abstractions of German mysticism, the shallow arguments of English, and the flippant incoherencies of American rationalism. The quotations cannot indeed be taken as a fair specimen of the whole system. It would have been too much to expect of an adversary, with such critical acumen and such keen perception of the ludicrous, not to exhibit the most palpable flaws and the most glaring absurdities in the writers whom he undertakes to refute. We shall be content if only those who have not had the opportunity, or perhaps have not the capacity, necessary for reading such authors, will only pause and ask themselves whether such persons can really be fit guides in ethical and theological science,—whether one who can be guilty of an egregious logical fallacy is trustworthy in speculations which threaten to subvert the commonly received opinions of the civilized world,—whether one who has been convicted in one instance of a gross imposition upon the common sense of his readers, can safely be regarded as a leader in the labyrinths of philosophical investigation.

Independently, however, of the numerous passages which have been introduced in the different writers' own words, these notes contain many allusions to the opinions of other writers, such as Mr. Jowett,—whom they seem to us to represent very fairly,—and much useful information may be derived from them for those who have no other opportunity of making themselves acquainted with these writers' works. They contain, moreover, some valuable matter in the way of argument against the positions of these authors; and matter in other ways supplemental to what has been introduced into the text of the lectures.

With one specimen of this class we will conclude our article, which has already exceeded the ordinary limits of a review.

After quoting from Theodore Parker a view as to the origin of religion, Mr. Mansel concludes:—

"It is to be regretted that Professor Jowett has partially given the sanction of his authority to a theory which it is to be presumed he would not advocate to the full extent of the above statement. "The theory of a primitive religion common to all mankind," he tells us, "has only to be placed distinctly before the mind, to make us aware that it is the baseless fabric of a vision: there is one stream of revelation only—the Jewish. But even if it were conceivable, it would be inconsistent with facts. The earliest history tells nothing of a general religion, but of particular beliefs about stocks and stones, about places and persons, about animal life, about the sun, moon, and stars, about the divine essence permeating the world, about gods in the likeness of men appearing in battles and directing the course of states, about the world below, about sacrifices, purifications,

initiations, magic, mysteries. These were the true religions of nature, varying with different degrees of mental culture or civilization." And in an earlier part of the same Essay he says, "No one who looks at the religions of the world, stretching from east to west, through so many cycles of human history, can avoid seeing in them a sort of order and design. They are like so many steps in the education of mankind. Those countless myriads of human beings who know no other truth than that of religions coeval with the days of the Apostle, or even of Moses, are not wholly uncared for in the sight of God."

* It would be unfair to press these words to a meaning which they do not necessarily bear. We will assume that by the "earliest history," profane history alone is meant, in opposition to the Jewish Revelation; and that the author does not intend, as some of his critics have supposed, to deny the historical character of the Book of Genesis, and the existence of a primitive revelation coeval with the creation of man. Even with this limitation, the evidence is stated far too absolutely. But the words last quoted are, to say the least, cautious, and suggest coincidence in a favourite theory of modern philosophy, equally repugnant to Scripture and to natural religion. Two very opposite views may be taken of the false religions of antiquity. The Scriptures invariably speak of them as corruptions of man's natural reason, and abominations in the sight of God. Some modern writers delight to represent them as instruments of God's providence, and steps in the education of mankind. This view naturally belongs to that pantheistic philosophy which recognises no Deity beyond the actual constitution of the world, which acknowledges all that exists as equally divine, or, which is the same thing, equally godless; but it is irreconcilable with the belief in a personal God, and in a distinction between the good which He approves and the evil which He condemns. But men will concede much to philosophy who will concede nothing to Scripture. The sickly and sentimental morality which talks of the "ferocious" God of the popular theology, which is indignant at the faith of Abraham, which shudders over the destruction of the Canaanites, which prides itself in discovering imperfections in the law of Moses, is content to believe that the God who could not sanction these things, could yet create man with the morality of a cannibal, and the religion of a fetish-worshipper, and ordain for him a law of development through the purifying stages which marked the civilization of Egypt and Babylon and Imperial Rome. Verily this unbelieving Reason makes heavy demands on the faith of its disciples. It will not tolerate the slightest apparent anomaly in the moral government of God; but it is ready, when its theories require, to propound a scheme of deified iniquity, which it is hardly exaggeration to designate as the moral government of Satan.

* We must believe indeed that in the darkest ages of idolatry, God "left not himself without witness;" we must believe that the false religions of the world, like its other evils, are overruled by God to the purposes of His good Providence. But this does not make them the less evils and abominations in the sight of God. Those who speak of the human race as under a law of vegetable development, forget that man has, what vegetables have not, a moral sense and a free will. It is indeed impossible, in our present state of knowledge, to draw exactly the line between the sins and the misfortunes of individuals, to decide how much of each man's history is due to his own will, and how much to the circumstances in which he is placed. But though Scripture, like Philosophy, offers no complete solution of the problem of the existence of evil, it at least distinctly points out what the true solution is not. So long as it represents the sin of man as a fall from the state in which God originally placed him, and as a rebellion against a divine command; so long as it represents idolatry as hateful to

God, and false religion as a declension towards evil, not as a progress towards good:—so long it emphatically records its protest against both the self-delusion which denies that evils exist at all, and the blasphemy which asserts that it exists by the appointment of God.'—Pp. 422—424.

We had written thus far, and our manuscript was in the printer's hands, when a third edition of the Bampton Lectures was announced, which with scarcely any material alteration in the text or notes, has prefixed to it a preface of twenty-four pages, which we are glad to see may be purchased separately. It contains some valuable hints, put forth in reply to various criticisms which have appeared in several, for the most part, unimportant Reviews. We can scarcely repeat that the book has not yet been noticed by the leading Reviews, for the omission is probably an indication of the backwardness of writers who are capable of handling so abstruse a subject, to undertake such a responsibility till they have viewed it in all its bearings. Certainly some of the criticisms which Mr. Mansel condescends to notice are meagre in the extreme; though probably no further remarks on his part or ours will convince the reviewer in the *Christian Observer* that he is entirely incompetent, as well in knowledge as in logical power, to cope with the Bampton Lecturer. With regard to most of the other matter exhibited in this preface, we must be allowed to express our satisfaction that the attacks upon his work have elicited from the author a number of explanations, which clear up many difficulties, some of which were almost unavoidable in such abstruse discussions. There is one most remarkable charge made by a writer in the *Rambler*, which excites our astonishment; first, that any reviewer should so mistake the author's view as to consider it a plagiarism from Dr. Newman; and secondly, that any writer should have ventured upon such a course of lectures without having read the volume of University Sermons. It appears to us a mournful indication of the indirect loss which the English Church has sustained in the diminished circulation of the works of one who formerly was the guide of nearly all the intellect of Oxford. Mr. Mansel's view is not to be confounded with Dr. Newman's, yet we are glad to find that Mr. Mansel adopts from Dr. Newman the passage with which he concludes his preface.

The explanation of the author's views on Dogmatism, as not involving any attack on Dogmatic Theology, was, we think, quite called for. It will be seen from the former part of this review that we did not partake in the reasonable fears entertained by some, as regards the soundness of the author's views as to the existence of a true science of Dogmatic Theology. Upon the whole, the publication of this preface seems to remind us of the difficulties under which the author of such a work is

placed, by the form in which it appears. It is impossible that a series of sermons consisting wholly of argument could ever be popular, or even intelligible, when preached. A preacher who has an abstruse subject assigned him, is compelled to sacrifice both matter and expression for the sake of effect; and Mr. Mansel has exercised a wise discretion in this matter. He has contrived to create an impression, and the style and eloquence of the sermons has secured the published work a success which as a series of mere essays it never could have attained. Neither could we have wished it otherwise; for it is the most useful publication that has issued from Oxford for many years past, and we trust its career of usefulness is as yet but beginning. And the author may be well content to compromise the risk of such misrepresentations as he has subjected himself to, for the advantage which he has thus secured of an extensive circulation of his views. We trust soon to see it in a fourth edition, and venture to suggest that a series of additional notes at the foot of the page would be a useful supplement in the way of vindication or explanation, or, if the author should see just cause, of retraction.

- ART. V.—1. *Later Biblical Researches in Palestine in 1852.*
By EDWARD ROBINSON, D.D. LL.D. London: Murray.
1856.
2. *The Tent and the Khan, a Journey to Sinai and Palestine.*
By ROBERT WALTER STEWART, D.D. London: Hamilton,
Adams & Co. 1857.
3. *The City of the Great King; or, Jerusalem as it was, as it is,
and as it is to be.* By T. C. BARCLAY, M.D. Missionary to
Jerusalem. Philadelphia: Challen & Sons; London:
Trübner & Co. 1857.
4. *Archæological Studies in Jerusalem. Two Lectures, and
Photographic Panorama of the Interior of Jerusalem.* By
GEORGE J. WIGLEY, Architect. London: Dolman. 1856.
5. *Plan of the Town and Environs of Jerusalem, constructed from
the English Ordnance Survey and Measurements of Dr. T.
TOBLER.* By C. W. M. VAN DE VELDE. With Memoir
by Dr. TITUS TOBLER. London: Williams & Norgate.
1858.

If the list of books at the head of this article sufficiently indicates that the interest which has been excited in the topography of Jerusalem and the geography of Palestine by the discussions of recent travellers has in no measure abated, it is a consolation to hope that it may also be taken as evidence that more reliable information, and more accurate data, will shortly open out this interesting field, even to those who have not the opportunity of testing the descriptions of others by their own observation. In fact, the series of photographs of Jerusalem and Palestine by Mr. Robertson, of Constantinople, together with those of Mr. Frith, now in course of publication, bid fair to place the untravelled archæologist in an equally advantageous position, as regards the antiquities of the East, with the most fortunate of modern travellers, with this great additional superiority on the part of the former, that as the photographic machine admits of no liberties with the subject which it undertakes to portray, and is altogether unbiased by theological prejudices and antiquarian theories, it is less liable to lead the careful explorer astray than the partial representations and sectarian commentaries of the *valets de place*, to whom English tourists are mostly indebted for their very

superficial acquaintance with Jerusalem and its remains. We shall have occasion frequently to remark, in the course of this article, the extraordinary blindness, or at least obliquity of view, engendered by the long-cherished possession of a darling error, which may be disproved to demonstration without in the slightest degree shaking the confidence of its author or advocate, who will,—we are willing to hope and believe, conscientiously and without the slightest intentional dishonesty,—falsify and distort the most patent facts, in order to establish his own foregone conclusions. Now this is a vice from which the mechanical process of the photograph is entirely exempt. The views may not indeed be always quite satisfactory; either the positives, or the negatives, or both, may be much in fault, owing to the caprice of the atmosphere, or the impurity of the chemicals, or the bungling of the manipulator, as the panorama of Mr. Wigley unfortunately proves; but in all this, there is not only no moral or intentional pravity, but also no prejudice or partiality in its misrepresentations, of whatever kind; the misty or muddy indistinctness and confusion pervades the whole picture, and affects all objects alike.

Thus is it not with the maintainers of any of the conflicting theories of the disposition of the ancient city, which affect the authenticity of the sacred places. It has actually become an article of faith, and a test of genuine Protestant principles, to deny the authenticity of the traditional site of the Holy Sepulchre; and you have only to ascertain the theological sentiments of any particular English writer, to know precisely what view he will take of the questions at issue between the contending parties. If he is one with the ultra-Protestant representatives,—or caricaturists,—of the English Church at Jerusalem, he will infallibly adopt their theory of the fraud and folly of all the saints and bishops, the clergy and people of the whole of Christendom, from the first century onwards, utterly unconscious, of course, of his own sectarian bias, which absolutely disqualifies and incapacitates him from judging of the questions; and which is precisely parallel to the reckless and indiscriminating fanaticism of the iconoclasts of the early Church, or to the puritanical frenzy against Church ornaments and decorations of later times. Such being the case, we are not at all surprised to learn from Dr. Stewart, of Leghorn, that the arguments of Mr. Williams's ‘very learned work,’ as he calls it, in defence of the traditional sites, are not appreciated at Jerusalem, and that ‘he did not meet with a single British ‘resident at Jerusalem, lay or clerical, who holds that opinion:’ (p. 255)—simply because the British residents at Jerusalem consist exclusively of those whose very narrow religious sym-

pathies are directly opposed to the conclusions which Mr. Williams has laboured to establish; while, if it were otherwise, scarcely one among them has the intellectual qualification necessary to enable him to appreciate the elaborate arguments of the 'Holy City.' So long as Bishop Gobat and his congregation,—including both the consular and episcopal factions,—represent the British residents in Jerusalem, and Drs. Robinson, Stewart, Barclay, and Porter,—Scotch or American Presbyterians or Calvinists—what we may call the travelling interest, so long the ecclesiastical and topographical traditions will continue to be at least as much misrepresented as the actual position and practice as to doctrine, discipline, and ritual of the Anglican Reformed Church. Probably Mr. Williams will be able to find comfort meanwhile in the consolatory reflection that, notwithstanding all this array of authority against him,—dating from not quite twenty years ago,—he yet has the immemorial and uninterrupted testimony of universal Christendom on his side, and that the Catholic representatives of the Eastern and Western Churches have hitherto shown not the slightest disposition to abandon their faith in favour of Dr. Robinson's very recent discoveries. Add to this, that Dr. Robinson and his followers have been obliged to accept some of Mr. Williams's facts as established data in the topography of ancient Jerusalem; and, whether they will admit or no, there can be no question that these facts must in their results very seriously damage Dr. Robinson's destructive arguments. But there is yet another, and still more satisfactory evidence in confirmation of Mr. Williams's theory than either of those before named. It is this, that, by a reconstruction of ancient Jerusalem according to Mr. Williams's ideas, the narrative of the siege of Jerusalem under Titus is rendered consistent and intelligible throughout; whereas, according to Dr. Robinson's theory, that same narrative must be supposed to be full of contradictions and absurdities, which would require us to form a lower estimate of the historian's accuracy than we should be at all warranted in doing. Indeed, nothing can be more suspicious than Dr. Robinson's aspersions on the historical fidelity and topographical accuracy of Josephus, contrasting strongly with the enthusiastic admiration of both expressed by the advocates of the old traditions; since this significant fact can only be explained on the supposition that the hypotheses of the latter are more consistent with the notices of the contemporaneous historian than those of the former; and if such should prove to be the case, few persons of any logical capacity will hesitate to accept the alternative hypothesis countenanced by Josephus, in preference to the novel inventions and original traditions of the American traveller.

We regret that our space will not allow us to apply this crucial test. We can only indicate a few facts of greater or less interest in their bearing upon the controversy, which seem to be established beyond question as landmarks for the reconstruction of ancient Jerusalem.

First and chief of these is the course of the Tyropeon Valley, which Josephus represents as bisecting the city, and dividing the Upper Market or Sion, from the Lower Market or Akra. This all-important feature in the topography of ancient Jerusalem has been found by Dr. Robinson in a shallow depression, which he fancies he has discovered within the Jaffa Gate, on the west of the city, running eastward as far as the area of the Mosk, and then, turning southward at a right angle, continues down to the Pool of Siloam, near the junction of the Valley of Hinnom with the Kedron valley. Mr. Williams, not being able to discover this shallow depression between the Jaffa Gate and the Haram, has found the Tyropeon in a well-defined valley, which, commencing outside the Damascus Gate, on the north of the city, runs right through the heart of the city, and, after skirting the whole of the west side of the Haram, is extended southward down to Siloam; so that the lower part of the Tyropeon is identical according to the rival theories; and the only question at issue is, whether its upper member is to be sought for in the northern or in the westerly direction.

Now it must be acknowledged, that after the most diligent inquiry among recent travellers, and the most patient and conscientious examination of the photographic views and panoramas of the interior of the city, we can discover no traces whatever of a valley along the line indicated by Dr. Robinson, between the Jaffa Gate and the Haram. Indeed, this is so far from being the case, that it has been proved, curiously enough, that this line is traversed by an artificial causeway or embankment, which will call for further notice by and by. The discovery of this awkward fact has obliged Dr. Robinson in some degree to modify his theory of the Tyropeon, and to draw its western extension and termination somewhat northward of the causeway, where, it must be admitted, the traces of it are at any rate not less distinctly marked than at the embankment. In explanation of this complete obliteration of the distinctive feature of ancient Jerusalem, it is urged that the valley has been filled in by the accumulation of rubbish; and a letter is cited and recited from Mr. Whiting, giving an account of the exhumation of some ancient rock-hewn vaults, near an old Greek church of S. John, under the northern brow of Sion, buried some twenty feet beneath the present surface of the ground. Now, not to urge the consideration that this vaulted chamber

does not fall in with Dr. Robinson's corrected line of the bed of the Tyropœon, and is quite inconsistent with his own notices of the water-levels of the adjacent parts, which indicate a declivity northward instead of southward, as his theory demands, it is enough to say, that if an accumulation of twenty or thirty feet of débris in any part of Jerusalem is to be taken as an indication of the existence of valley in former times, it might be proved that all Jerusalem was valley, for there is no part of the city which is not encumbered with ruin, generally to even a greater depth than this subterranean Church of S. John. Thus we are told, that in digging the foundations of the Protestant church, not far distant from the Church of S. John, on the super-eminent brow of Sion, the architect had to sink his shafts through some forty feet of rubbish before he reached the solid rock, which proved to have been scarped, and excavated into chambers. But who would think this any sufficient proof of the former existence of a valley on this part of Sion, or attach any weight to it at all as a topographical argument? As little does Mr. Whiting's discovery, however interesting in itself, affect the question of the course of the Tyropœon; and we are really not aware of any other attempt at an argument in favour of Dr. Robinson's theory, which is, in fact, nothing better than a foregone conclusion.

On the contrary, the evidence in proof of the course which Mr. Williams has assigned for the northern extension of the Tyropœon is absolutely overwhelming, and is increasing from year to year. Indeed, the only wonder is that any doubt can ever have existed in the mind of any intelligent student of Josephus, who has had an opportunity of reading his author on the spot and comparing his description of the ancient city with the actual site of the modern. This doubt can only be accounted for by the fact that the continuity of the valley is interrupted in one part by the artificial embankment already alluded to; but this interruption itself, we shall presently see, furnishes a strong argument in favour of the identification. Not that any additional arguments are wanted to establish the correctness of Mr. Williams's counter-theory; for, while this valley entirely answers to the description of Josephus, (who certainly would never have represented Dr. Robinson's imaginary valley as *extending through the city*,) it is the marked feature of the modern city as the Tyropœon was of the ancient. Dr. Robinson, an unwilling witness no doubt, bears constant testimony to this, as, *par excellence*, the Valley of Modern Jerusalem, and the native name of the street which traverses all its northern part, no less proves its topographical importance. Mr. Williams, indeed, informed us that this street was called

'the Street of the Mill Valley,' by Moslem annalists upwards of three centuries ago; but he apparently was not aware that it still bears the name of 'El Wâd'—*The Valley*—among the modern inhabitants of the city. Another interesting proof of the importance of this valley is furnished in the fact lately brought to light, that the great arterial sewer—the *Cloaca Maxima* of the city—traverses the whole length of this Valley. We have lighted, to be sure, on a somewhat unsavoury subject, but it is worth while to dwell upon it a little, on account of the great importance which attaches to the principal point in the topography of ancient Jerusalem. Dr. Robinson, apparently anticipating the damaging effects on his argument of the discovery of this great drain, first noticed by Mr. Williams, but more fully explored and described by Dr. Barclay, has, according to his wont, laboured to disparage its significance and importance as a landmark in topography. Thus he quotes 'an intelligent Mussulman,' to the effect that 'the great sewer, which drains the whole city north of Zion, begins on the east side of the valley, not far above the causeway' (p. 187) which joins the Temple Mount to Sion; which appears about as reasonable as to say that the Fleet Ditch, e. g. which drains great part of the north of London, begins at the foot of Ludgate Hill: for how a sewer beginning at Sion can drain the whole city north of Sion passes our comprehension. He subsequently gives its commencement much more definitely; viz. 'several rods from the causeway' northwards, where 'the water is apparently drained off by the great sewer, which begins just here' (p. 190). Now, happily, we have it in our power to correct this, and several other misstatements of Dr. Robinson, from the careful and accurate observations and measurements of a very recent traveller, hitherto unpublished, which have been generously placed at our disposal; and which will be found to confirm, in a very remarkable manner, the hypotheses of Mr. Williams, to 'the very great general accuracy of whose work on the Holy City, which he read on the spot, and referred to again and again,' he bears his well-timed testimony, when a systematic attempt is being made, by the opponents of the ancient traditions, to disparage, by every means in their power, the most elaborate and methodical defence of them, as 'a vast mass of undigested information on the history, topography, antiquities, and traditions.' (Porter, p. 182.) Now of this great arterial drain, which underlies the bed of the genuine Tyropœon, the writer in question has furnished some interesting particulars, which we transcribe:—

'When I was last in Jerusalem (April and May, 1858), I found the Mill Valley Street, from a little beyond the corner of the *Via Dolorosa*, where it ascends to the *Porta Judiciaria*, to within a short distance of the causeway in David Street, filled with black semi-fluid mud; the stench of which was at times overpowering. In order to pass down the street, one had in places to spring from one stepping-stone to another, in order to escape the mud. It was evident that a sewer or cesspool had burst in some part of the street; and I was told that the Greeks, in some repairs or building that they were carrying on, had broken into an old sewer which was partially stopped up lower down, and having flooded it, they had caused it to burst in this manner.'

The building in question, he conjectures to be a new hospice, which the Greeks were building close to the north wall, not very far west of the Damascus Gate.

'From this building to the part of the Mill Valley Street, near the Damascus Gate, is no great distance, and it is not impossible that they may have hit upon an old branch sewer, which discharges itself into the great sewer said to exist under the Mill Valley Street.'

This will not only show the great inaccuracy of Dr. Robinson's statement, that the sewer commences near the causeway, but will further serve to place beyond all question the true course of the Tyropœon, traversed throughout its whole length by the great sewer.

With regard to the pseudo-Tyropœon of Dr. Robinson, a few more words may be added. If that valley be not composed of shifting sand, it is at least as unstable as if it were. According to his former notices, it entered the true Tyropœon *south* of the causeway (Bib. Res. vol. i. p. 393): but as this hypothesis is disproved by the causeway itself, which in this case must have traversed the bed of the Tyropœon, he is now fain to shift it to some point *north* of the causeway, and by so doing furnishes another argument against its supposed course. For there was an ancient sewer discovered in digging the foundations of Dr. Gobat's church on Mount Sion, which is carried along the northern brow, and traverses the whole width of Mount Sion from west to east, until it debouches into the main sewer already noticed as coming from the north. Now this branch sewer, according to Dr. Robinson's Moslem friend, who in this agrees with ancient and respectable Arabic authorities, 'is carried along under a portion of the causeway' (p. 187); which course would have been absurd had there been 'a narrow ravine immediately under the steep northern brow of Zion, serving as a drain for the waters falling on the adjacent parts of Zion, and also for those on the southern declivity of the ridge on the north,' viz. that which is occupied by the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Besides, this supposition is directly contradicted by the distinct testimony of

Dr. Schultz as to the course of the rain-water, which runs from the northern brow of Sion westward as far as a line drawn west of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre; which is thus proved to be the lowest line of depression between Sion and the ridge of the Sepulchre. (*Holy City*, vol. ii. pp. 30, 31.) In fact, this ridge is the northern skirt of Mount Sion; declining steeply, and pretty uniformly, to the Tyropœon on the east; and is so reckoned by William of Tyre, in a passage which it may be well to cite in disproof of Dr. Robinson's most strange and utterly unsupported assertion, that no man ever thought of denying the existence of his Tyropœon until within the last fifteen years (p. 208, n. 5); for it is simply ignored by all original writers or travellers between Brocardus and Dr. Robinson—on the reasonable rule, no doubt, that *de non apparentibus et non existentibus eadem est ratio*—while all writers anterior to Brocardus (A.D. 1283), making no attempt to verify the topographical notices of Josephus, consistently adopt language altogether irreconcilable with his identification, as endorsed by Dr. Robinson. So William of Tyre, who was long resident at Jerusalem during the period of the Frank occupation, although unconsciously using language almost identical with that of Josephus to describe the principal geographical features of the city, has obviously no theory of the ancient city to support, but simply represents the existing aspect of the *terrain*, and of the then prevailing traditions. He thus describes the site of the city in general, and of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in particular: ‘The city is situated on ‘two mountains,—the summits of which it contains, for the ‘most part, within the circuit of its walls,—separated by a ‘moderate valley, which even divides the city through the ‘midst.’ Now, who in his senses can doubt that this valley was the Tyropœon of Josephus,—identical with the Mill Valley of the mediæval city, and with El-Wâd (*The Valley*) of modern Jerusalem? And how, then, according to this author, were the parts of the city disposed with reference to this valley? ‘Of these two hills,’ he proceeds, ‘the one on the west is ‘called Syon, . . . but the other, which is on the east, is ‘called Mount Moria. On the western, and, as it were, on ‘the highest summit of the mountain, is the church which is ‘called Syon, and not far from that the Tower of David. . . . ‘On the same mountain, but on the declivity which looks ‘towards the east, is situated the Church of the Holy ‘Resurrection, round in plan; which, since it is situated on ‘the declivity of the aforesaid mountain, so that the hill ‘hanging over it hard by nearly exceeds the height of the ‘church, and renders it dark, has its roof . . . continually

'open, whence the church receives the necessary light.' Nothing can be more distinct than this, as showing that, according to the observation of an intelligent resident in the twelfth century, as according to the witness of all who have no theory to maintain at this day, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre occupied the eastern skirt of Mount Sion, where it declined to the Tyropœon. And we apprehend that Dr. Robinson would find it difficult to discover one respectable authority who professes to have noticed the Tyropœon of Brocardus, unless he has looked at it through the spectacles of that unfortunate antiquarian, in whose days it was already quite filled up!

Another argument against the course assigned to the Tyropœon by Dr. Robinson may be found in the Pool of the Bath, which demands notice on other accounts. This large and ancient work would be, according to Dr. Robinson's theory, very little north of the Tyropœon, with its length at right angles to the course of the valley; an arrangement inconceivable to any one who has studied the archaeology of Jerusalem with especial reference to the supply of water. For all the tanks, not only in and around Jerusalem, but throughout all Palestine, including those famous Pools of Solomon, which were probably a model for all, are constructed on one uniform design, the most convenient that could be devised. That is, they are formed out of the native rock in valleys or ravines by simply damming up their beds and confining the water in the natural tank thus artificially formed. There is probably not a single exception to this plan to be found in the East, from the Pools of Solomon, on the road to Hebron, and that still more stupendous work, imitated from them by the Queen of Sheba, at Mariaba, in Yemen, the gigantic ruins of which remain to this day, to the Bends of Belgrade, near Beukdere on the Bosphorus, constructed by the sultans to supply Constantinople with water. It is, then, absolutely certain that, if a valley had existed only a few yards south of the Pool of the Bath, the same plan would have been followed, and we should have found the pool not only following the direction of the valley, but occupying part of its very bed.

But as this pool has an important bearing on the traditional site of the Holy Sepulchre, it will be well to state some objections to its identification, which Dr. Robinson, following Quaresmius, a late and very untrustworthy monkish guide (A.D. 1616—1625), has strongly argued with the pool of Hezekiah, not only celebrated among his works in the contemporaneous Book of Kings, but recorded also to his praise by the son of Sirach. It is certainly an unfortunate circumstance for this modern hypothesis, that the only note by which this pool could be recognized as Hezekiah's is

not to be found in the Pool of the Bath. The object of the king in constructing this pool was, we are expressly told, to divert the waters of the Fountain of Gihon from the uses of the invaders, and to husband it for the besieged. To this end he stopped the source, which was without the city, and conveyed the waters by a subterraneous aqueduct into a tank prepared for it within the city, ‘between the two walls.’ Now there is no reason whatever to suppose that the pool which Dr. Robinson dignifies with the name of Hezekiah’s Pool, was ever supplied from a fountain of living water. It is simply a reservoir of rain water collected in the Pool of Mamilla, at the head of the Valley of Hinnom, on the west of the city, and conducted down by a superficial conduit into the Pool of the Bath, which must also, according to Dr. Robinson’s own theory, have been situated outside the ancient city. How the purpose of Hezekiah could have been effected by this arrangement he does not condescend to explain, nor to account for the disappearance of the spring-water which must formerly have supplied it, if his hypothesis be correct.

Indeed, it must be remarked, that Dr. Robinson has a peculiar method of dealing with inconvenient objections to his hypotheses, which he can hardly expect to be as satisfactory to his adversaries as it is to himself,—‘a Short Method,’ which Leslie himself might have envied him, as it would have saved him the labour of replying to the arguments of Socinians, and Jews. The following passage is certainly instructive, and demands a passing notice :—

‘In now turning to the consideration of particular localities, I may be permitted to express the hope that the reader will not expect me to examine every view which may differ from my own, nor even to notice every objection which foregone hypothesis or controversial skill may see fit to propose. It is an old maxim that, “the best way to preach down error is to preach the truth.” If, therefore, I shall be able to present, with clearness and brevity, the main arguments in support of the views adopted by the scholars of former centuries, as well as by myself, I venture to hope that these will commend themselves to the judgment of the reader; and that I may be excused from drawing other matters into discussion.’—Pp. 206-7.

Now, not to mention that this old maxim, of very questionable application to doctrinal error, can have no possible place in questions of fact, this curious sentence suggests one or two remarks, which may serve to place the controversy between Dr. Robinson and his opponents in its true light. The whole tone of Dr. Robinson in this, as in numerous other passages, would seem to imply that he is the innocent victim of an unprovoked attack from a party of fanatical and superstitious bigots, as ignorant as they are presumptuous; whose objections are based merely on ‘foregone hypothesis,’ and maintained, not by

reason and argument, but by 'controversial skill.' He loses sight altogether of the fact that he is the assailant; and that the objects of his severe censures are but defending the historical traditions of universal Christendom from the attacks of modern scepticism. There is, indeed, a significant agreement between the supercilious tone of Dr. Robinson's strictures and the theological criticisms of the German, or Germanizing, school in England and on the continent. The traditional interpretations of eighteen centuries are regarded as unworthy of any serious notice, as indicative of narrow-minded prejudice, and the result of ignorance and bigotry; and consequently, the objections of those who presume to question the *ipse dixit* of these new lights may be simply ignored when they prove inconvenient, and their arguments, however weighty, either misrepresented or ridiculed.

And here we may, by the way, pause to correct an error into which many writers fall concerning the present position of the question relating to the sacred sites, of which Dr. Stewart, of Leghorn, may be regarded as the exponent, when he writes that, 'Mr. Williams has published a very learned work with the avowed object of proving the Church of the Holy Sepulchre to be the true site of Golgotha'—P. 255. We cannot believe that the author of the Holy City was so silly as to contemplate any such object; and we are perfectly certain that he has nowhere avowed it. The fact is, the tradition, so to speak, proves itself. Probably no one but Mr. Fergusson and his *personnel* doubts that the present Sepulchre Church occupies the site of that originally erected by Constantine and S. Helena. Nor will any one who is accustomed to weigh the credibility of historical evidence be disposed to question the distinct evidence of Eusebius, that this site was recovered by the demolition of the shrine of Astarte,—the memorial of which is still extant in coins of Aelia Capitolina,—erected by order of Hadrian, for the express purpose of desecrating a spot venerated by the Christians, the identity of which it thus served to perpetuate and establish. To doubt whether the site of Golgotha was known in the time of Hadrian, is somewhat less reasonable than it would be to doubt whether the situation of Tyburn, *e.g.* could be recovered at this day. The maintainers, then, of the ancient tradition have nothing to prove. The thing is proved—more strongly than any other plain historical fact is proved—by the consistent testimony of innumerable witnesses for nearly two thousand years; and all that we have to do is to show, that modern objections to the credibility of the ancient traditions are not sufficient to invalidate the evidence on which we rely. It is

absurdly illogical to throw the *onus probandi* on those who have been so long in undisputed possession of ground, which it was reserved for the nineteenth century to declare debateable. The title-deeds of our possession of the Holy Sepulchre are written in the records of the Catholic Church from the beginning, and will not be surrendered without a struggle.

One thing, however, is very amusing. In his original work, Dr. Robinson took great credit to himself for having been the first to construct a consistent theory of the topography of ancient Jerusalem; and he is, we believe deservedly, regarded by his friends as a modern Cyrus or Nehemiah, on account of his supposed restoration of the city; not to say a Hezekiah also for his iconoclastic zeal in shivering to pieces the Nehushtan of monkish idolatry. But he has proved himself, after all, a somewhat faint-hearted champion of his novel and heretical topographical dogmas. He has been fain to fall back upon the reserve of authority which he had done his utmost to discredit in his earlier volumes; and, with a pardonable inconsistency, now seeks to justify his positions by an appeal to those very writers, for their deference to whom he has most severely animadverted on his opponents. He now tells us:—‘ My own ‘ investigations in respect to the Tyropœon, and the hills Akra ‘ and Bezetha, led me to adopt the view which has been the ‘ prevailing one among travellers and scholars ever since the ‘ times of the Crusades, if not earlier.’ —P. 204. We have read and reread this passage with unmitigated surprise, and, we must add, regret. It is not a candid statement, as we shall proceed to show. Dr. Robinson leaves us in no doubt as to ‘ the scholars of former centuries,’ to whom he refers with so much respect in the passage above cited; and of whom he says, in the preceding page (206), ‘ that they were among the ‘ ablest scholars of their times; nor have they perhaps been ‘ surpassed in discernment, learning, and good sense, by those ‘ who have become their successors at the present day.’ And who, then, are these ‘ witnesses, scattered over no less than ‘ seven centuries:’ —‘ the writers who during so many centuries ‘ have given the same interpretation of Josephus?’ ‘ The ‘ earliest writer on Jerusalem, so far as I have been able to ‘ discover, who makes any allusion to the descriptions of Jose- ‘ phus, is the monk Brocardus, about A.D. 1283; to whom we ‘ are indebted for the topography of the Holy Land and Holy ‘ City, according to the views current in the time of the Cru- ‘ saders.’ The incorrectness of this last statement we have corrected by anticipation from William of Tyre, who is so far from dividing Mount Sion from the Holy Sepulchre by a valley, that he places the latter on the eastern declivity of the former.

But to let that pass. It is surely strange to find one of these monkish writers, to the whole of whom Dr. Robinson has always expressed such decided repugnance, honoured as the ablest scholar of his time ; and the thirteenth century, be it remembered, was not at all deficient in very able men. Indeed it is so gratifying to find a Presbyterian divine taking so much more sober and candid a view of mediæval writers than he formerly professed, that we care not to inquire into the motives which have led him to modify his views of their merits. This virtual recantation is the more gratifying when it is considered that this ‘tract of Brocardus,’ as Dr. Robinson has informed us, ‘appears to have been a favourite in the convents, and was frequently transcribed. Indeed, the monks would seem to have often occupied themselves in writing out this and other like tracts.’ So, then, after all, these much-abused monks—by no one more abused than by Dr. Robinson—had discernment enough to appreciate ‘the ablest scholar of their time,’ to whose authority Dr. Robinson is not now ashamed to appeal as the original propounder of the theory which he has adopted, in common with a catena of witnesses, ‘scattered over no less than seven centuries.’ And who are these witnesses? ‘The next writers who refer to Josephus, are Adrichomius and the Jesuit Villalpandus, near the close of the sixteenth century.’ ‘Scattered,’ indeed ; and a somewhat serious interruption, it must be admitted, in the continuity of the chain, with a break of three centuries between the first and second links. But, no matter, since ‘both of them adopt the like view in respect of the Tyropœon and Akra. From them, probably, the same passed over to Sandys, who was at Jerusalem in A.D. 1611.’

Now, when it is considered that neither Adrichomius nor Villalpandus had visited the east, but were simply repeating the current theory first broached by Brocardus, and then propagated in his popular tract, we shall be able to estimate at its proper value the catena which Dr. Robinson has constructed, which is simply a chain of sand with vast breaks in its continuity. But the next authority cited is the most remarkable of all. Our own most learned Lightfoot, certainly ‘among the ablest scholars of his time,’—and it was an age of giants in Sacred Literature. ‘About the middle of the seventeenth century, Lightfoot, by a wrong interpretation of a passage in the Psalms, and by his reliance on the Rabbins, was led into the error of placing Zion on the north of the Holy City and Akra on the south, in which he was followed by Cellarius.’ These two witnesses are called by Dr. Robinson, be it remembered, to confirm the testimony of Brocardus, to whose theory they are fundamentally—though it would seem unconsciously—opposed,

while maintaining an hypothesis utterly inadmissible according to all archæological data, and all modern observations of Jerusalem—always excepting the original and eccentric notions of Dr. Clark. ‘All’s fish that comes to net,’ according to Dr. Robinson’s view; and, accordingly, when the names of Lightfoot and Cellarius have been adduced in order to demonstrate that Dr. Robinson’s ‘views as to the course of the Tyropœon’ and the position of Akra and Bezetha were not novel, and did ‘not rest merely upon his own authority,’ Dapper and Reland, who corrected the most palpable errors of the two former, are cited for the same purpose! Thus, then, while the most contradictory theories are appealed to in confirmation of the authority of Brocardus, it appears that the evidence, when sifted, yields not so much as one independent witness to his conjectural restoration of the Jerusalem of Josephus, until we come to Dr. Robinson himself; for D’Anville, Rosenmüller, and Raumer, in recent times, do but follow Reland, who, as usual, made the best of the materials within his reach, but had not sufficient information at hand (as how should he have?) to enable him, with all his critical acumen, to do justice to the subject. All that he did attempt was to restore the hills of Jerusalem to the proper relative position, so strangely and perversely shifted by Lightfoot’s Talmudic exercitations, and this he did most effectually. But even if we could concede that the learned scholars cited by Dr. Robinson, all untravelled as they were, had implicitly followed Brocardus in his restoration of Jerusalem, and adopted his blind valley for the Tyropeon, yet there is still this important difference between his view and that which Dr. Robinson now professes to have borrowed from him, by the hands of many successive witnesses—‘scattered over no less than seven ‘centuries’—which is this, that the site of the Holy Sepulchre was, according to Brocardus and his monkish admirers and copyists, in no way inconsistent with its authenticity. This ‘ablest ‘scholar of his time,’ the original inventor of the Tyropœon of Dr. Robinson, was yet a devout believer in the tradition which his modern admirer thinks to discredit by the adoption of his theory. The strangest thing of all is, that anyone who has so much as glanced at the plans of the city in Adrichomius, Villalpandus, Sandys, Lightfoot, and D’Anville, remembering that these were the only landmarks to the topography of Jerusalem until quite recent times, should attach the slightest credit or importance to the wild guesses of men, however eminent as scholars in their several departments, who were avowedly groping in palpable darkness amid the ruins of ancient Jerusalem. It is clear at a glance that these plans are as little consistent with one theory as with the other; and it may be said, without in the least disparaging the

meritorious labours of the most learned Reland, that a host of such writers can have no weight against the single testimony of such a man, *e.g.* as Ritter, who, with modern plans before him, and after the fullest and most impartial consideration of the arguments on both sides, adopts, without the slightest misgiving, the Tyropœon as identified by Mr. Williams. The fact is, Dr. Robinson, misled perhaps in the first instance by Brocardus, constructed his theory too hastily on his first visit to Jerusalem, and then, having committed himself to it and to all its necessary consequences, including the invention of a fictitious Holy Sepulchre, was cut off from a retreat. We find the proof of this in a comparison of the earlier volumes with that containing the results of his second visit in 1852 ; and especially in a comparison of the plan accompanying his former volumes with that appended to the later. Many features in the topography of Jerusalem, which had been well-nigh overlooked in his first visit, stand forth with great prominence in the second ; many objects, to which great importance was before attached, have now sunk into comparative insignificance in the discussion. His first plan was a mere modification or revision of what Dr. Tobler calls ‘the Sieber and Catherwood plan ;’ the result of which was, that in certain parts it ‘only became more faulty,’ while ‘almost nothing was changed in the interior of the city, be it in regard of the Haram-Esh’ Sherih, the buildings, or the streets.’ (P. 13.) His later plan is almost a literal copy of the Ordnance Survey, first published by Mr. Williams and Professor Willis, with the necessary rectification of an unaccountable blunder in the western wall of the Haram, which the editors, whatever misgivings they may have had as to the correctness of the officers’ plotting, of course did not feel themselves at liberty to correct. The comparison of the plans, we say, proves to demonstration that Dr. Robinson was not himself in possession of sufficient data to enable him to form an accurate judgment on many facts on which he pronounced more dogmatically than would have been prudent even with more trustworthy information. This is the more to be regretted, because, while the eminent services of the author of the ‘Biblical Researches’ entitle him to the respect and gratitude of all who are addicted to Sacred Literature, his ungenerous and uncandid treatment of those who differ from him must detract considerably from the value of his work as well as from his literary reputation. Thus, in general, while every page of his recent work bears witness to the importance of discoveries which have been made in the intervals of his two visits, he plumes himself upon the supposition that in that interval of twelve years no addition of any importance whatever was made to our information on the subject ; while, in particular, he

endeavours to disparage all that has been effected by recent explorers.

It is not, however, for the sake of exhibiting specimens of this unworthy spirit of petty jealousy that we proceed to notice some further matters in discussion between Dr. Robinson and others, but on account of the intrinsic interest attaching to the questions, and because we have it in our power, through the kindness of the friend already referred to, to throw new and important light upon some points affecting the controversy.

All who are at all conversant with recent investigations in the field of Jerusalem archaeology, will remember that very considerable importance has of late been attached to a ruined fragment of an arch which had been discovered prior to Dr. Robinson's first visit, but to which he was the first to direct special attention, and assign any definite place in the topography of the ancient city. It exists on the western face of the south-west angle of Haram, or enclosure of the Great Mosk, opposite the steep brow of Sion, which rises on the opposite side of the unquestioned part of the Tyropœon, at a distance of about 360 feet from this venerable fragment, in which Dr. Robinson thought he had discovered the remains of one arch of a bridge which, according to Josephus, connected the Temple Close with the Upper City. Mr. Williams was of a different opinion. Conceding the antiquity of the fragment, and the undoubted traces of an arch, he was disposed rather to refer it to the system of the vaulted substructions, which are known to exist under this part of the artificial area. In fact, no reasonable doubt can be entertained that the massive masonry is of the Herodian period, but all else is mere conjecture. This fragment is now known among the Protestants of Jerusalem as Dr. Robinson's bridge,—quite as well as the fifth proposition of the first book of Euclid is as the *pons asinorum*,—and it is well named, for it certainly is not the bridge of Josephus. This latter Mr. Williams has identified beyond all question with an embankment, to which allusion has been frequently made, extending across the Tyropœon at a point about 550 feet north of the ruined arch, and leading from the principal gate of the Mosk to the north-east corner of Sion, and so to the Bazaars. The existence of this embankment admits even of less question than the ruined arch, and is accordingly admitted into all modern plans, and described as *Erdwall*, in Kiepert's large plan, executed under Dr. Schultz's direction, and in Kraff's; as *Brücke*, in Tobler's and Ritter's; *Causeway*, in Dr. Barclay's; *Bridge*, in Van der Velde's. That it answers to both descriptions is clear from all the notices which we find of it; for while the houses on both sides of the street, which passes over this arti-

ficial embankment, present an obstacle to the satisfactory exploration of its construction, and give it the appearance of an earth-work, yet it is ascertained that the large sewer already described passes under it, and vaulted substructions have been noticed in some parts; while lastly, a large tank, explored by Dr. Barclay, underlies its eastern extremity, probably supplied by the aqueduct from the Pools of Solomon, which also crosses the valley by this viaduct. The proofs, then, adduced by Mr. Williams, that the word *γέφυρα*, used by Josephus, might describe a solid embankment as well as an arched construction, however satisfactory, were wholly unnecessary; for a bridge it is in the narrowest acceptation of the term, and is uniformly denominated '*le pont*' in a curious Norman-French description of the '*Citez de Jerusalem*', by one Hugo Plagon, which belongs to the period of the Crusades.

The discovery of this bridge, universally admitted as it is, and answering in every respect to all the notices of the bridge in Josephus, could not but prove detrimental to the stability of Dr. Robinson's bridge; for, while the former exists still in its integrity, the latter has only to show the spring course of a single arch which might just as well have served any other conceivable purpose. But the former had almost altogether escaped Dr. Robinson's observation during his first visit to Jerusalem. He had barely noticed it as 'a low mound, probably of rubbish,' and had acknowledged that he only hastily surveyed the locality; as indeed the net-work of streets in his plan, adopted without correction from Catherwood, proved that he was utterly ignorant of this quarter of the city, which is, however, the very key to its ancient topography. But he had committed himself to his theory, and was by no means prepared to abandon it. Accordingly he comes to Jerusalem in 1852, and while obviously less confident in the strength of his own ruined arch to bear the whole weight of a bridge, and auguring little success for Dr. Barclay's endeavour to recover traces of its western extremity among the prickly pears of the opposite declivity (p. 177), he is by no means disposed to admit the claims of the rival bridge, but, on the contrary, bends all his efforts to subvert its foundations. While obliged constantly to refer to the causeway as crossing the bed of the Tyropœon, as spanning over the main sewer, as conveying the aqueduct from the brow of Sion to the Temple Close, as supported by 'vaults, extending underneath the causeway' and visible amid the ruined houses; he yet, with strange inconsistency, pretends that, 'if the causeway ever formed a junction with Zion in this part, it could have reached only to the foot, never to the brow'—a self-contradictory assertion, which nothing but prejudice could have prompted or

overlooked its absurdity ; for who can imagine a raised cause-way reaching to the foot of a hill ? In fact, he himself, when off his guard, writing of El-Wâd, states correctly enough that, 'for several rods from the causeway, the street *descends* north-wards' (p. 190), descends, i.e. from the foot of Sion, according to the former statement !

One of the most interesting and perplexing subjects connected with the archæology of Jerusalem is its water system, involving, as it does, the solution of that paradoxical problem stated by Strabo, Tacitus, and other ancient writers, and confirmed by the accounts of all the sieges that the city has undergone in ancient and more recent times ; viz. that while the vicinity of the town was dry and barren, there was a plentiful supply of water within. Very much was done for the elucidation of this obscure subject by the author of the 'Holy City,' and the hypothesis there started appeared not only highly probable in itself, but to be countenanced to some extent by existing phenomena. This is, however, one of the many questions which can never be thoroughly investigated until the jealousy and suspicions of the Turks shall be sufficiently abated to allow of excavations on a large scale for the purposes of antiquarian and scientific research. Some facts, however, have recently been brought to light which it may be well to put on record, if only as contributions to a subject of so much interest. The indications noticed by Mr. Williams seemed to point to a fountain of living water brought into the city from the north by a subterranean conduit, and distributed by branch aqueducts to reservoirs and fountains in various parts of the city on the east side of the Tyropœon, and within the Temple Close, the overflow of which was received into the intermittent fountain of the Virgin, and thence conducted to the pool of Siloam. One of the most noted reservoirs was that which was known to the Crusaders as the Royal Cistern, and was situated before the Mosk El-Aksa, then known as the Palace or Temple of Solomon—then the Hospice of the Knights Templars, from which they derived their name. This large tank, described as an excavation of the magnitude and capacity of a lake, and of which probable notice is found in Josephus, and still earlier in the book of Nehemiah, was covered in during the time of the Frank occupation of Jerusalem, and has now been lost sight of for centuries. Mr. Williams speaks of it as 'the Royal Pool, which existed formerly, and probably still exists, beneath the pavement of the Haram, before the porch of *El-Aksa*.' (Memoir, p. 83.) This tank has lately been recovered and described by Dr. Barclay,—one of the very few important notices in that most disappointing book :—

' During our exploration of the Haram enclosure we observed, on removing a half-buried marble capital on one occasion, a rude subterranean passage, leading to a long flight of steps. The effendi immediately dispatched some of the workmen for flambeaux, and prepared for a thorough exploration. Descending a broad flight of forty-four wide steps cut in the native rock—but so worn in some places as to have required partial recutting, only a few centuries ago to all appearance—we reached a beautiful sheet of water.' Its vaulting is now ' quite a rude piece of work,' supported by ' ill-shaped piers, apparently of unhewn rocks, badly plastered.' ' It is seven hundred and thirty-six feet in circuit, and forty-two in depth, and according to the best estimate I could make, its capacity falls but little short of two millions of gallons;' at this time, however, ' the water was nowhere much more than knee-deep.' ' The rain from El-Aksa is conducted into it by a small trench, and much also finds its way through small superficial channels leading from various parts of the temple area into the same opening near El-Aksa porch. We discovered no fountain in connexion with it.'—Albert of Aix says expressly that it was supplied with rain-water—nor did we find the entrance of the aqueduct from Solomon's Pools, which we were told, by one of the old keepers who had formerly visited this subterranean lake, enters it on the west; nor did we discover any exit from it into the neighbouring pool under El-Aksa ; yet, as that pool, which is said to be very capacious, has no visible source of supply, there is probably a communication between them. It formerly had eight apertures above, through which the water was drawn up; but only one remains open at this time.'—Barclay, pp. 525—527.

This enormous tank, then, however important as an indication of the southern limit of the Temple Close, and of the course of the old city wall on the south,—and, if identical, as it would seem to be, with the Pool of Solomon mentioned by Josephus, it has a very decided bearing on both these questions,—does not appear to be connected with the water system, of which we find traces in the northern quarter of the Temple area, and which next invites our notice.

The open reservoir, which covers not less than a third of the northern wall of the Haram, was known by the name of Probatica Piscina as early as the fourth century, and is still regarded by all but the Protestant inhabitants of Jerusalem as the Bethesda of S. John's Gospel. This vast work is 360 feet long, 103 wide, and still 75 deep, after a large accumulation of centuries of rubbish. Its sides, to the very brim, have been carefully coated with Roman cement, large fragments of which still remain, proving that it was formerly filled with water. This fosse Dr. Robinson regards as the *vallum* of the fortress Antonia; and his notable maxim above cited enables him to disregard the insuperable objections to this view, which it is impossible to adopt without doing violence to the plainest language of Josephus, and involving numerous passages of that author, as well as of Strabo and others, describing sieges of the Temple, in hopeless obscurity: but then an archæologist, whose theory would make the Lower City considerably

higher than the Upper, must not be expected to stick at trifles. This Pool, although it has now been dry for centuries, must, there can be little doubt, have been originally constructed for spring water. Indeed, when Sandys was at Jerusalem in 1611, in speaking of this Pool, he writes, ‘into which a barren spring doth drill, from between the stones of the northward wall, and stealeth away almost undiscerned.’ Whence, then, was this ‘barren spring’ supplied? Another large tank, known in the Middle Ages as the ‘piscina interior,’ and ascribed by tradition to Hezekiah, is now no longer found. It lay at no great distance to the north of the Pool of Bethesda, in front of the ancient Church of S. Ann, so situated that it may very well have served for the fosse of Antonia, the Struthius of the Jewish war. In the latter half of the fifteenth century (A. D. 1485), when Felix Fabri was at Jerusalem, the ‘Probatica piscina’ was dry, while the ‘piscina interior’ had an abundance of water, supplied, as he says, from the upper fountain of Gihon, diverted for this purpose by Hezekiah (according to 2 Kings xx. and Eccl. xlvi.). Until lately no traces of this large reservoir had been recovered; but our friend, to whom we are so much indebted in this article for recent facts and discoveries, has thrown further light upon this subject, which may materially aid a future exploration.

* With regard to the trench said to have formerly separated Antonia from Bezetha, it is observable that there are now some cisterns lying in a direct line, much about the probable position of the ancient trench. First, there is the dirty tank outside the wall, a little east of Herod’s Gate: this is just in a line with the bottom of the east side of Akra; just inside the walls, in the same line, is a deep cistern, a stone dropped into which was rather more than two sounds (about 50 feet) before reaching the water; and a little further south, in the same line, is a third cistern, in a square hollow or basin among some prickly pears, with steps down to it. Is it possible that these are formed in the ancient trench which I suppose ran along here? The small tower (by the side of the dark archway and Sheikh’s tomb, mentioned by Robinson, p. 174) at the foot of which are the remains of ancient stone-work, would be just at the termination of the wall which I suppose ran north and south above this fosse?

He then refers to a passage in Dr. Stewart’s book, which serves to determine the line of the fosse between this tower and the north wall of the temple, and which further affords such an interesting confirmation of the tradition of Bethesda that we cannot resist the temptation to cite it. A Mr. Hodge, one of the Missionaries of the London Jews’ Society is the hero of the tale:—

‘Very early one summer morning, in strolling along the street leading to the Bab Sitti Mariam,’ [the Eastern Gate] ‘he turned up a dark vaulted passage to the east of the Governor’s house, which leads to one of the gates of the Haram. Seeing an open door to the right hand he looked

into it, and, to his surprise, discovered, in the garden or open space within, a large birket [tank], in great measure choked up with earth and rubbish. Though he was on forbidden ground, and ran considerable risk, he was about to advance to examine it, when a man from within rushed forward with the usual menacing cry, "Harám, Harám," and prevented his advance. Being perfectly master of the Arabic language, however, he began to converse with him, and soon learned that he was correct in supposing it was a birket [pool] which he had seen within. He then asked the name of the gate, and was told by his informant that it was "the Sheep gate." —P. 278.

This curious discovery, which reminds one very much of a passage in Felix Fabri, describing probably the identical house and pool (fol. 140 b.) not only gives the southern termination of the Struthius, or eastern fosse of Antonia, but strikingly confirms a surmise of Mr. Williams, that the double vaulted passage which runs up from the north-west angle of the great fosse of the Temple (commonly called Bethesda) in a northerly direction, both communicated with the fosse of Antonia, and formed a bridge to the northern gate of the temple, *i. e.* the Sheep gate. (Holy City, vol. ii. pp. 325, 394, n. 3, 484, 485; Memoir, p. 100.)

The two reservoirs being thus connected, if we can ascertain how one was supplied with water, we may spare ourselves any further trouble. Now it happens that a writer of the period of the Crusades has told us that the pool before the Church of S. Ann was in his time supplied with *bitter* water, the very same description which he gives of the peculiarly-flavoured fountain of Siloam, which some writers have called sweet, others brackish, others insipid, but this writer alone, bitter, '*gustu amarus*,' as this water was also '*gustu amara*.' This is a strong presumptive evidence that the Siloam water, still found at no great distance from the pools which have now occupied our attention, was also received into these pools, which thus formed part of the water system of Jerusalem, planned and organized by King Hezekiah.

The interest attaching to this subject induces us to communicate further results of our friend's investigations, which will enable us to correct an important oversight of Dr. Robinson. We would only premise that the flavour of the Siloam water is so very peculiar that no one who has any sense of taste could fail to identify it when he had once become acquainted with it. We do not attempt to account for the phenomenon, we merely state the fact.

Directly to the west of the line of tanks noticed above must have stood the fortress of Antonia, attached to the north-west angle of the Temple Close, and occupying a very large area in a commanding situation, menacing the temple and city. The

authenticity of this position is attested not less by constant tradition than by numerous remains of Roman architecture still to be found upon the site. That the official residence of the Pasha should occupy part of the *Prætorium* of the Roman Governor, after an interval of nearly two thousand years, is only one of numerous instances of the unchangeableness of customs in the East. That attached to the house of Pilate, as thus identified, should be found the Arch of the *Ecce Homo*, and the Church of the Flagellation, is entirely consistent with antecedent probability. But that, after so many vicissitudes, not only the substructions but the superstructures also should exhibit unmistakeable traces of Roman architecture, is perhaps more than we had any right to expect, yet such is the fact. Thus Mr. Wigley, himself an architect of considerable merit, in his very interesting '*Archæological Studies in Jerusalem*', describes 'on the eastern side of the present building, a large quantity of ancient stones;' and at the south-western angle, where it joins the Temple Close, he discovered 'the remains of a very ancient wall.' More curious and interesting still are the recent discoveries at and about the Arch of the *Ecce Homo*, where the Abbé Ratisbonne, an eminent convert from Judaism to the faith of Christ as professed at Rome, has lately purchased a plot of ground, upwards of a hundred feet square, for the erection of a nunnery for the order of the Daughters of Sion. The site is covered with Moslem ruins, but beneath the superficial débris are constructions of the Herodian period. Among these are several large vaulted chambers of massive stone-work, apparently Roman, in which Hebrew coins were discovered, and four cisterns—one of which, cut in the solid rock, is of large size, and evidently of extreme antiquity. The arch itself is covered with plaster, and surmounted by a mean shed, occupied by a Derwish, so that it is only on close examination that evidence of its extreme antiquity can be discovered. Then, indeed, the immemorial tradition is found to be confirmed by the massive blocks of stone of which it is constructed, precisely similar to the masonry of the Herodian period, and the simple style of ornamentation bears witness to the same date.

This point is placed beyond question by Mr. Wigley, who thus describes the fragment:—'Near the north-west corner of 'the area [of the mosque] is the traditional arch of the *Ecce Homo*. 'It is at a short distance from the atrium of Pilate, and is also 'an arch of Roman masonry. The mouldings which still exist 'on several voussoirs and on the impost, display the plain 'Roman colonial style' (p. 6). It is much to be hoped that, in carrying out the erection of the contemplated buildings, proper

measures will be taken to preserve these vestiges of ancient Jerusalem ; or, if that is impossible, that at least a record of them will be preserved in accurate plans and diagrams ; for what Christian does not feel that the very dust of Jerusalem is precious ?

And here, as we are in the vicinity of one of the most curious discoveries of recent times, and are reminded of it by the mention of the *débris*, we will turn aside to describe a ghastly monument of the siege of Jerusalem, which corroborates in a very remarkable manner part of the narrative of Josephus, and still further attests his fidelity as an historian.

' In the Via Dolorosa, on the right hand, just before it reaches the Tyropeon, coming down from the arch of the Ecce Homo, and opposite to the ruined bath, a new building has lately been erected by the Austrian Government, which is intended as a hospice for pilgrims.' [It is marked in Van der Velde's plan as 'House for Austrian Pilgrims.'] ' In order to get room for the building, the earth on its northern side has been cut away, and the side of the cutting, which rises to the height of about twenty feet, appears to be a bank of rubbish, full of human bones, broken pottery, and charcoal. This rubbish evidently has accumulated on the slope of Acra, and is probably the result of the destruction of the houses of Acra at the siege, and the bones are probably those of the Jews who perished at that time. The admixture of broken pottery and charcoal shows that there could not have been a cemetery here, and the position of the spot, in the middle of the city, quite precludes any such idea.'

Two distinct statements of Josephus explain the phenomena :—1st. That when the besieged could no longer throw their dead out from the walls into the surrounding valleys, they crammed the corpses into large houses, and left them there to rot. 2d. That when Titus had possessed himself of the Temple, he directed the Lower City to be burnt. The pottery belongs to the dwelling-house, the bones witness to its conversion into a charnel-house, the charcoal speaks to the conflagration.

It is, however, to the Church of the Flagellation that we desire to direct more special attention, in connexion, as we above intimated, with the Water problem. In the court of this church Mr. Williams fancied he had discovered a well of living water, with the Siloam flavour, which, he conjectured, was conveyed thither by a branch from Hezekiah's aqueduct, for the supply of the fortress Baris, and of its more renowned successor, Antonia. This theory was tested by Dr. Robinson, during his last visit in 1852, who decided and pronounced that the tank was supplied with impure rain-water, which he discovered to be full of minute wriggling worms and other animalculæ, supposed especially to affect such beverage (p. 198). His conclusion was, in its turn, tested by our friend, who was in

Jerusalem last year, the result of whose investigation of the subject, extending far beyond this particular tank, has been most kindly communicated to us, with permission to make it public, of which we shall thankfully avail ourselves, when we have first recorded the interesting fact communicated in a subsequent letter, that he also saw the 'red wriggling worm' in the bucket of the rain-water cistern at the same place.

' During a recent visit to Jerusalem, I had an opportunity of observing one or two facts connected with the disputed question as to the course of the Siloam Water, which may perhaps be interesting to you.

' First, as to the water of the cistern in the court adjoining the Church of the Flagellation, and which Dr. Robinson, in his recent volume, declares to be merely impure rain-water. I was there in May last, and then tasted the water of the two cisterns which exist there, and I found that, while that of the one on the east of the church was of the usual flavour of rain-water, like that of the ordinary cistern water at Jerusalem, the water from the cistern on the west of the church was most unmistakeably of the Siloam flavour, as though it had been drawn from the pool of Siloam itself. In both cisterns the water was perfectly clear and bright. A few days before this, on the 30th of April, I was passing along the street which, starting from a little above the Church of the Flagellation on the west, runs, with some windings, to the walls, when at a point nearly east of the House of Herod, and which on the map accompanying "the Holy City" is, I think, just about the angle under the last *I* in *Muslimin* on the map, I found some men digging for the foundations of a new house. They had gone down between thirty and forty feet, and had just come to water which was flowing as from a spring. Having a cup with me, I got them to hand me up some of the water, and found that it had the unmistakeable Siloam flavour. Three other Europeans (or rather Franks) came up at the same time, two of whom seemed by their appearance to be connected with the English or American Mission, and they all agreed, on tasting the water, that it was certainly Siloam water.

' A man now came up and told me that in the cistern of his house close by, the water was also Siloam water, and on going there with him I found that it was so. The cistern, which was about 100 yards to the N.E. of the point where they were digging for foundations, was said to be very large. The man said he had once entered it, and found it not excavated in the rock, but built up, i.e. the roof of it, and supported on three columns. Whether as to this his account is to be depended on of course I cannot say. He told me, and several bystanders

made the same statement, that there were several such cisterns between that point and the Temple supplied with the same Siloam water. By measurement I found that the cistern was twenty-three feet deep to the water; the depth of the water I could not ascertain. The position of this cistern was rather lower than that where the men were digging.

I should say it was about half-way down Acre, going east from Herod's House. The end of the hill in which is Jeremiah's cave would be about north of it. I was told that in summer the water becomes *sweeter*. It would be interesting to ascertain whether this is the case with the water at the pool of Siloam itself in the dry season. If so, it would seem to show that at that time the water did not rise high enough at its source to pass, to the same extent as in the winter, through the strata whence it derives its peculiar flavour. If, on the contrary, no such change takes place in the water of the *pool* in summer, it would then appear as if the cisterns in question were partly supplied by an overflow from the aqueduct conveying the water to the Temple, and that in the dry season this overflow ceased or nearly so.

I next went to taste the water in the cave of Jeremiah. There is, as you are aware, a very large reservoir here, but I found no trace of the Siloam flavour. It now occurred to me to make another visit to the great quarries which have lately been discovered under the city near the Damascus gate, and to ascertain whether the water of the little fountain which drips down from the roof in one corner was Siloam water.

You are probably aware of the existence of these quarries. They are described in Stewart's "Journey to Sinai and Palestine," and he gives a plan of them drawn to scale [p. 265]. By applying this to the Ordnance Map of Jerusalem, I find that the farthest extremity to the south reaches nearly to the present Austrian Consulate, or, as the place of the Consulate may be different from what it was formerly, I may better point out the spot by saying that it is just above the *R* in "or" of the lettering Acre or the Lower City. Just at this point in the subterranean quarry a small fountain trickles down from the roof and is received in a small basin roughly hollowed out for that purpose in the side of the rock. This water, which Stewart describes as brackish, had, I found, the genuine taste of Siloam water. At different places on the roof for more than 200 feet N.E. of the fountain, the water was dripping down slowly, so that it is impossible to ascertain the exact position of the channel from which the water leaks. May not the trickling of this fountain in the quarry be the sound of the subterranean water-course, heard near the

' Damascus gate, according to the native tradition quoted to
' that effect?

' I was told that there was some tradition of a stream of water
' formerly flowing at the point where the street coming down
' from the Ecce Homo runs into the Tyropœon, and the bath
' which stands at the angle used, it is said, to have its supply of
' water from this stream. This bath has lately been bought by
' the Armenians, and is to be converted into a church. I
' tried in vain to get admission, for no one seemed to know
' where the key was kept, and at last I was assured that the key
' was at Beyrouth.

' The sum, then, of my observations is, that we have the Siloam
' water at the Church of the Flagellation coming down from the
' NNW., *i.e.* along the eastern side of the hill Aera, and again
' in the quarry fountain under the south-western part of the same
' hill; and if the statement of Krafft is to be relied on, it is
' also found in the cistern by the Damascus gate. This I forgot
' to verify.

' Were it not for this last fact I should be inclined to think
' that the water entered the city somewhere between Herod's
' gate and the hill in which is the cave of Jeremiah, and then ran
' in two channels, one under the eastern slope of Aera to An-
' tonia, while the other ran diagonally under Aera towards the
' Tyropœon (Mill Valley Street) in order to supply the baths
' and wells on this side the Temple, and that the quarry
' fountain was supplied by a leak from this second channel.
' Perhaps the cistern by the Damascus gate may receive its
' Siloam water in a similar manner by leakage; or, as that gate
' appears to have been an ancient one, the cistern may have been
' made with a special channel branching off from the larger one
' to convey a supply of water to that point for the guards
' stationed there.'

On the whole, then, it will have appeared, in particular, that Dr. Robinson's attempt to disparage the discoveries, and to discredit the theory of Mr. Williams relating to the water-supply of the Holy City, is a signal failure, and, in general, that the author of the Biblical Researches shines more as a geographer than as an archaeologist; the fact being, that, while he is remarkably deficient in the kind of lore which is necessary for antiquarian pursuits, he is utterly devoid of the instinctive faculty which can alone secure their successful prosecution. When to this it is added that he is so confident in his own opinion, so impatient of contradiction, and so jealous of competition in the same literary arena, that he never either retracts an opinion once advanced, or admits a discovery which he has himself overlooked, we apprehend that we have stated sufficient grounds for

the regret which we feel, that the first serious attempt in recent times to restore the topography of ancient Jerusalem should have fallen into such hands, and from accidental circumstances, aided no doubt by the unquestionable services which he has rendered to Biblical literature, and especially to Scripture geography, should have exercised such extensive influence in these questions.

We will add one or two further illustrations of the *animus* of this writer, and of its unfortunate results, before we conclude; not, we repeat, from any pleasure we take in exposing the moral defects of his character, but from the interest which attaches to the questions under discussion.

Among other objects of interest, not, it must be granted, very many in number, which escaped Dr. Robinson's observation, during his first visit to Jerusalem, was an ancient arch, which has since obtained considerable prominence in the discussions of the topography of Josephus, being regarded in fact by Dr. Schultz and others, as the Gate Gennath, and so deciding the point of junction of the second wall with the first. This archway is found just outside the bazaars, and is now buried almost up to the key-stone in rubbish: it is described by Lord Nugent as 'the crown of a very ancient arch of large stones, as of a gateway, the whole of the jambs of which is buried in rubbish' (vol. ii. pp. 54, 55); and he has given a faithful sketch of the fragment in aid of his description. Mr. Williams says, 'it bears marks of antiquity in its structure, and in the size of the stones, which are much worn by exposure;' and adds, 'its present state most clearly indicates that the natural surface of the ground in this quarter must be much below the present level.' He regards it as a gate of the second wall, but not as Gennath (vol. ii. p. 56). Dr. Robinson's notice of this ancient arch contrasts strongly with the foregoing:—it is, according to him, 'the crown of a small round arch' (therefore certainly not Saracenic) 'apparently ancient. The stones of the arch are small, rudely cut, and without any trace of bevelling. It may have belonged to a small gateway, perhaps, in the wall of a dwelling or a court. It more resembles the rude entrance of an aqueduct or sewer. A glance only is needed at its appearance and position, to show that it could never have had connexion with any city wall' (p. 199). A glance, apparently, is all that he vouchsafed it. Our friend thus corrects the mis-statement:—

'This arch, which Robinson rather absurdly supposes to have been an ancient sewer, forgetting that it is above ground, while the ancient city lies below some 30 feet of rubbish, was full 13 feet in diameter, and is built with large stones, the key-stone being 2 feet 4 inches deep.'

Again, some of Dr. Robinson's former discoveries and admissions have been worked up, so to speak, into counter theories by subsequent writers. In this case, even his own discoveries are extenuated, and the admissions withdrawn. Thus, e.g. Mr. Williams borrowed from Dr. Robinson and his friend Mr. Wolcott, a notice of a subterranean aqueduct, said to be *audible* near the Damascus gate, falling in very conveniently with traces of the water-works within the city; and, indeed, Dr. Robinson himself was the first to suggest that this report, if established, might have some bearing on the fountain of Es-Shefa, within the city, as well as Siloam; which question he referred to future investigations ('Bibliotheea Sacra,' part i. p. 28). Now, however, that this report has been confirmed, and the investigations have yielded results of some consequence, the story is only referred to incidentally in order to be disparaged. 'The present popular report,' we are told, of the communication between the fountain of the Virgin and the Haram above, 'like that respecting "running water at the Damascus gate," is too indefinite and legendary to be of any weight' (p. 249). We can add another notice concerning this sound, with an explanation which will approve itself to the judgment of the reader. Dr. Robinson was informed that the sound could be heard only 'in a still time,' and 'by putting the ear near to the ground.' Mr. Wolcott added that 'the sound could be heard only at night.' Our informant states that it is to be heard also on *Friday*, and adds: 'I suppose this may have been the case formerly, when the Mahomedans were more strict in observing their religious duties than they are now. In former days, no doubt, the whole city would have been perfectly quiet and still during the time of the Friday's prayers in the mosques, and then very possibly the sound of the water may have been heard by the guard at the gate.'

Our materials are far from exhausted, but we fear that the patience of the reader may fail, if we proceed further with our topographical disquisitions, which must unavoidably take for granted a general acquaintance with the plan of Jerusalem, and which, even so, can scarcely be made intelligible without the aid of diagrams.

There is, however, one other monument of antiquity to which we must allude, if only to record the felicitous application of numismatic science to the illustration of archaeology, and to express our indignation at the ruthless barbarism of some modern travellers, who seem to be ambitious of rivalling the infamy of the most savage nations, in their wanton destruction of all that is venerable. All the world has heard of the Tombs of the Kings, in the upper part of the Valley of Jehoshaphat, on the

north of Jerusalem, and modern controversy has been busy in discussing their claim to this royal title. Dr. Robinson, following Pococke, whose view was also adopted by Chateaubriand and Dr. Clarke, had before assigned them to Helena, Queen of Adiabene; and although very strong arguments had been advanced in the interim against this theory, on the principle, it must be presumed, before avowed, of ‘preaching down error by preaching the truth,’ he quietly ignores objections in his later work. Still more inadmissible is M. De Saulcy’s identification of these royal sepulchral grottoes with the Tomb of David; although this writer deserves great credit for his discovery of the curious mechanism of the entrance to these caves. Mr. Williams, followed by Dr. Schultz and others, assigned them to the Herodian dynasty, and this theory is established beyond all doubt by the following considerations, although it is still open to question whether they were constructed by the founder of the family, as Mr. Williams maintains, or by Herod Agrippa the elder, as suggested by Mr. Wigley, to whom belongs the merit of demonstrating that they owe their origin to one of the family,—for it is nothing short of demonstration. After a minute and accurate description of the situation and general character of these excavations, which he pronounces ‘one of the noblest royal tombs in the world,’ he thus describes the details:—

‘The porch is adorned with an abundance of carvings in the live rock itself, consisting of a Doric cornice, enriched with bands of flowers and fruit. In the centre of the frieze is a bunch of grapes between two crowns, filling the space which would be otherwise occupied by a triglyph and two metopes. I regret to say that the central ornament now exists only in my photograph, an American traveller having knocked it off in order to take it home. . . . As far as we can judge, it is a tomb of the Herodian period . . . and the position of this tomb is close to what we believe to be the wall of Agrippa. . . . The royal caverns are mentioned for the first time by Josephus in connexion with the wall of Agrippa; we are therefore amply justified in thinking that it was part and parcel of the general adornment which King Agrippa added to Jerusalem.’—P. 6.

It is deeply to be regretted, especially after the brutal violation and unjustifiable spoliation of this monument, that Mr. Wigley’s photograph is so very unsuccessful; but even as it is it enables us to fix the period of the adornment, and we can only be deeply grateful to him for preserving a record of it in this form, after the dishonest appropriation to private vanity of that which was the legitimate property of all times and of all nations.

It is very curious that M. De Saulcy himself should have furnished us with the means of refuting his own erroneous view as to the Davidic origin of these monuments, independently

of other arguments, by reference to his valuable work entitled ‘*Recherches sur la Numismatique Judaïque*’ (Paris, 1854). In this work he exhibits (Pl. VII.) several coins which bear a cluster of grapes on the obverse, with the word ΗΡΩΔΟΤ, and a casque with a double crest on the reverse, surrounded with the legend ΕΘΝΑΠΧΟΤ, and it is remarkable that this symbol appears nowhere prior to the period of the Herods, although it was revived by the Jews during the revolt under Barcochebas. (Pl. XI. XII.) The title of Ethnarch has led M. de Sauley to refer these coins to Archelaus, who alone of all his family was ethnarch of Judaea (ib. p. 135). But then there is no independent proof that Archelaus adopted the name of Herod instead of his own. Eckhel, with some misgivings, Miönnet, and Raschi, assign them to Herod the Great; and although it is clear that this titular king at one time bore the obnoxious eagle as his symbol (Pl. VI. 10, 12), and the prouder title of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ, yet it is not at all improbable that at another period of his long life and reign he may have assumed a different device and designation. At any rate, the cluster of grapes, introduced as the principal ornament into the rock-hewn frieze of the Royal Tombs, is an Herodian symbol, and so fixes the sepulchres to that dynasty.

And here then, for the present, we take leave of the archæology of Jerusalem, with the conviction, however, that we shall again have to recur to the subject from time to time. For while this article will have demonstrated that Dr. Robinson has not even yet exhausted all the monuments of interest that have been brought to light, it must be remembered that until the accumulated dust and ruin of four thousand years shall have been sifted, we shall not be in a position to determine many of the most interesting questions affecting its ancient history; and even then the lack of written memorials would leave much unexplained. It can only be hoped that every opportunity of fresh investigation will be seized with the praiseworthy avidity and followed up with the diligence evinced by the writer to whom this article is so largely indebted, and whose brief MS. notes supply larger and more valuable data than are to be found in the ill-digested and clumsy work of Dr. Barclay, of which it may be said, that while its first title is its only merit, its second title, presumptuous as it is, is its sufficient condemnation. While we have been engaged on the last pages of this article, we have had brought before us another very valuable work on this inexhaustible subject, in three volumes of sketches by an eminent artist, M. Ramboux, which only serves still further to convince us how very wide is the field of antiquarian research in and around Jerusalem; an observation, by the way, which

will apply equally to Mr. Wigley's two Lectures, to which frequent reference has been made in this article. Meanwhile it is a serious question whether the meddlesome humour of English and American tourists will leave anything for future investigation; the reckless, selfish brutality which could perpetrate the defacement of one of the grandest and most venerable monuments of the world, cannot but inspire the most gloomy misgivings. It is, of course, vain to expect the Turkish Government, which so fully recognises that its destiny is to destroy and so faithfully executes its appointed mission, to preserve the monuments of ancient art, as the Christian governments of Athens and Rome are so jealously doing; all that can be hoped is, that public reprobation may so stigmatise the barbarian who could deliberately mutilate the 'Tombs of the Kings,' as to prevent, at least, the repetition of an offence which can never be repaired.

- ART. VI.—
 1. *Hodgson's Instructions for the Clergy.*
 2. *Burn's Ecclesiastical Law.*
 3. 17 Geo. III. ch. 53.
 4. 1 & 2 Vic. ch. 23.
 5. *Vice-Chancellor Kindersley's Decision—Boyd v. Barker, Feb. 21, 1859.*

THE law affecting ecclesiastical dilapidations has been somewhat ventilated of late in the Legislature. Viscount Dungannon, in the course of the last Session, drew the attention of the House of Lords to this subject, and during the present Session, the Bishop of London, in answer to a question from the same noble lord, replied, that the subject was under the consideration of the Episcopal Bench. A Committee of Convocation, moreover, has been appointed to draw up a bill which might prove acceptable to the clergy generally. The topic, therefore, cannot be considered unseasonable at the present time, and no apology, in consequence, for the ensuing remarks is needed.

That the law, as at present administered throughout England and Wales, does, from its doubtfulness and uncertainty, operate very viciously, no one who studies the subject with any degree of attention can fail to see; and the hardships that are thereby imposed upon the clergy generally and their families, there will be no difficulty in showing.

Hodgson, in his ‘Instructions for the Clergy,’ has the following remarks :—

‘One of the first subjects to which a new incumbent must in prudence turn his attention, is to ascertain, by the employment of a competent architect, surveyor, or builder, the amount fairly due to him from his predecessor, or his personal representatives, for dilapidations.’

And the way of doing this, he thus points out :—

‘It is not unusual for both parties to leave the amount to be estimated by the same person. If this plan is not adopted, each party may appoint a valuer, with power to such valuers to name an umpire in case they differ.’
—Instructions for the Clergy, p. 38.

Now, how does this plan act? A young curate, then, is appointed to a living. More versed in spiritual matters than in temporalities, and looking upon his appointment as a call to higher duties and usefulness, and perhaps, also, as a piece of good fortune that he had not expected, he is not inclined to examine too

¹ ‘Hodgson's Instructions for the Clergy,’ seventh edition.

closely into his rights, but is disposed rather to look with a generous and lenient eye on the widow and family of his predecessor, whom he, from the very nature of the case, is obliged to turn out of the home they have so long occupied. Having imprinted on his mind, moreover, that one of the marks of 'pure' and undefiled religion' is to 'visit the fatherless and widows' in their affliction,' he is, in consequence, averse to pressing his just and lawful claims on his predecessor's estate. He leaves, therefore, the appointment of a valuer wholly in their hands, and acquiesces in the selection they make. The valuation, accordingly, is made in a way the most favourable to the interests of the representatives of the late incumbent, and the new rector is awarded but comparatively trifling dilapidations. But, though this modicum of what is fairly due to him is *awarded*, it by no means follows that he *obtains* it. There is a possibility of the estate of the deceased being insufficient to meet the claim. Ordinary contract debts may swallow up all, before ever the amount of dilapidations is *ascertained*, and the whole of the assets be thus disposed of before the claim for them can be sent in. And, to quote here from 'Burn's Ecclesiastical Law,' 'albeit the law allows the payment of dilapidations before legacies, yet the same are not to be paid before other debts: for the common law (Sir Simon Degge says) prefers the payment of debts before damages for dilapidations.'—Degge, p. 1, c. viii. He enters then upon his living in this wise, and in so doing takes upon himself all the liabilities of the office he fills; in other words, becomes amenable for the dilapidations existing on his benefice at the time of his induction, for he has 'accepted it with such charge and incumbrance upon it.' Proceeding a little further with his history, he in all probability marries, has a family, and in the course of years is promoted, not to a better living, but to a better world. His successor is appointed. He happens to be a keen and shrewd man of the world; and he comes and looks over the place. He is perfectly *au fait* at the business, having held a benefice of smaller value, which he is now about to leave in order to take the present one. He is therefore conversant with the subject of dilapidations, having had previous experience in the matter. In the cursory survey that he makes, he sees this and that building wanting considerable repairs, the chancel (it being a rectory) in a very bad state, ditto the farm-house and buildings on the glebe, and ditto also the fences thereon. He mutters, loud enough to be heard, something about a ruinous state of things. Ominous words these! When asked whether he will consent to Mr. —— being engaged

¹ 'Burn's Ecclesiastical Law,' Vol. ii. Dilap.

as the ‘competent surveyor’ for both parties, he answers ‘No! he would rather have his own surveyor.’ Accordingly, he authorises Mr. Sharpe, of the firm of Bright, Sharpe, and Early, Architects and Surveyors, — Street, London, to value in his behalf. In the course of a week or two, Mr. Sharpe comes down, measuring-tape and rule in hand. He lets fall a hint here, and an inuendo there, by no means calculated to soothe the widow’s evident alarm and distress. Then he sends in his ‘small valuation,’ and a ‘trifle’ of about 1000*l.* is found as the amount of dilapidations existing on a benefice of from 400*l.* to 500*l.* a year. The widow is amazed and indignant. ‘Why, my poor dear husband,’ she says, ‘only got about 200*l.* awarded him, and never even touched a penny of that!’ Her valuer meanwhile—the same one who was employed on the former vacancy, or his successor—computes the amount of dilapidations at about 350*l.*; larger this than it would have been, but that the ‘London man’ has come down, and, therefore, he feels himself compelled to come somewhat nearer to the truth than was done on the last occasion. An umpire is appointed, and the result is that 830*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* is the sum awarded, together with the expenses, 5 per cent. on the valuation of her own surveyor, and 2½ on that of the umpire, *i.e.* about 38*l.*; so that under the head of dilapidations a sum total of 860*l.* has to be paid out of the late rector’s estate. This sum absorbs a very considerable, perhaps the larger, portion of the amount for which, in his laudable desire to secure some sort of provision for those he left behind him, he had insured his life, and these now are left with a few hundreds (and fortunate they may consider themselves if even so much remains) to begin life anew, as it were, and to do battle with a rough and stern world.

And this, it may be safely averred, is no exaggerated picture, but one which is constantly occurring. Such cases do not, indeed, find their way into newspapers, nor has the pen of the popular writer as yet portrayed them; but the suffering arising therefrom is not the less real, or the less keenly felt, because it is silently endured. With the knowledge of these things, therefore, before his eyes, it is not to be wondered at, that the ‘Secretary to the Governors of the Queen Anne’s Bounty’ should, in the work already quoted from, be so far startled out of the conventions of official routine as to add:—

‘It is much to be desired that the Legislature should pass an Act for the better sustentation of parsonage-houses, so that, by some summary powers, the bishops might be enabled to cause inquiry, as to the state of houses, to be periodically made, and the defects found on any such inquiry to be forthwith repaired. * * Thus a remedy would be supplied for the injury which is sustained, not only by the successor, but by the family of an incumbent leaving his house and premises in a dilapidated condition.’—
Pp. 38 and 39, *Ib.*

And the provisions of some such law, it is the purpose of the present paper to endeavour to investigate.

Before, however, entering upon it, we would desire to narrate a somewhat amusing incident, that has been told to us, in connexion with this subject.

Two surveyors (so runs the story) had inspected the parsonage, premises, chancel, &c. of a rectory, had each made their own notes and comments, and closed their note-books. Entering into the rectory-house, they are shown into a room where a plain substantial luncheon is provided them. They fall to with good and keen appetites, which the morning air has sharpened; they partake freely of the good viands spread before them, take a deep pull at the home-brewed, and having sufficiently satisfied the wants of the inner man, they draw their chairs near to the cosy fire. Filling a glass of the late rector's port, they then begin to discuss a variety of local topics. At last one of them, by name Mr. Reepham, whose curiosity can no longer be repressed, thus breaks out, 'Well, now, Mr. Wickenby, to the business of the day; pray what may be the amount that you make of this affair?' 'Why to tell you the truth,' replies Mr. Wickenby, 'this is hardly the way in which such matters should be treated; there ought to be more formality, Mr. Reepham, more formality. At the same time, business must be got on with,—pray fill my glass, sir; here's your very good health, sir.' Mr. R. bows his head in acknowledgment, and Mr. W. proceeds—'to come to the point, then, what do you make of it, Mr. Reepham?' 'Oh, I will tell you at once,' answers Mr. R., 'I make 23*l.* odd on it.' 'No, you don't say so,' says Mr. W., 'why that is just the sum that mine comes to.' 'Well, that is curious! most extraordinary! really quite remarkable! how do you cypher it out? Let me see, I find 166*l.* on the house and premises, and 67*l.* on the chancel,' continues Mr. Reepham, rummaging into his note-book. 'You do!' replies Mr. Wickenby in astonishment, 'why, those are my figures too, only the 67*l.* is on the house and premises, and the 166*l.* on the chancel.'

This little anecdote is narrated, merely to illustrate the very great uncertainty that prevails in this notable item of English law, and the arbitrary and capricious manner in which it must, from time to time, affect the families of the clergy. And it must be evident to all, that in this very uncertainty a great hardship exists. It is clear that, in order to make a provision against any contingent charge on his estate at his death, a person should at least be aware of the extent, or pretty nearly so, to which such provision has to be made. Whereas in the case under consideration, an incumbent knows, indeed, that there will be some

charge or other, but that is all; the amount, or even the approximate amount, he is altogether ignorant of, and from the nature of the case must remain so. Thus, then, he lives on, striving to save out of his income some sort of provision for the members of his family at his decease, but having at the same time continually before his eyes the stalking-horse of dilapidations, looming in undefined and undefinable proportions in the distance, to destroy the peace of mind he might otherwise enjoy.

But we will now turn to the consideration of the manner in which an amelioration may be effected. There are two methods, then, proposed by those who seek to remedy the existing state of things; one by means of *insurance*, the other by means of *inspection*. By the former it is proposed that a small annual tax should be paid by the incumbent of every benefice, the proceeds of which are to go to the repair of the dilapidations found thereon at such times as the living becomes vacant. By the latter, that, at regular stated periods, each benefice in every diocese should be inspected by a duly qualified surveyor, appointed by authority, who should report to the bishop of such diocese the state of each benefice situated therein; on the strength of which report, the bishop should have power to issue a monition to any incumbent to repair at once all dilapidations found on his living, under penalty of sequestration.

Each of these schemes shall in turn be considered. To the Insurance plan then, there appears to be one main objection at the very outset. It is this. Clergymen would naturally feel that they were, year by year, paying a tax for dilapidations, which would of itself clear them from all charges under that head upon their livings becoming vacant; and so they would be tempted to neglect all due and proper care of the buildings, &c. belonging to them; and in this way the law would operate as a premium on slovenliness and neglect. It is true that an inducement might be held out to them to act otherwise, by the insertion of a provision, that, in case a larger sum should have accumulated at such a period, than was requisite for the object intended, the surplus should be handed over to the incumbent so vacating his living or to his executors; but men are apt to be incredulous (whether rightly so or not is another question) of obtaining money back from the tax-holder, and would characterise such an expectation by a saying more familiar than elegant. But even so, the objection would not be entirely met. For though, to guard against a living suffering any loss, the dilapidation-tax were made as high as possible, so as to meet *all probable* damages, still there would be no *complete security* against an improvident incumbent allowing his house or other buildings

on his living to fall into even a hopeless state of dilapidation and ruin.

Besides, there would be no small difficulty in apportioning such a tax. It would not be equitable, *e.g.* to levy it simply according to the income of the living, though, at first sight, this seems the fairest, as it is doubtless the readiest way. For take three livings at 500*l.* a year each. The income of one might arise from tithes only, and here dilapidations would lie only on the parsonage and (in case it were a rectory) the chancel. The second might consist entirely of land, where dilapidations would arise on the farm-buildings and fences, as well as on the parsonage and chancel : and the third might derive its income from dwelling-houses, where the dilapidations would be larger than in either of the former instances, and vary according to the nature of the tenements. In the case of vicarages the liability on the chancel would not exist. We see, therefore, that the basis on which any tax of the kind ought to be calculated, should be the *nature of the property* appertaining to the benefice, and its own special liability ; and hence, the levying of such a tax would require every living in England and Wales to be separately inspected by able and competent judges.

There is one undoubted advantage in the insurance system, *viz.* that a yearly tax of small amount is scarcely felt, whereas a large sum becoming due at an incumbent's death,—when other pressing claims have to be met,—is frequently a most serious incumbrance to his family, and falls upon them with proportionable severity. But great though this advantage be, and one cognate with it, the ceasing, *i.e.* of what is now a very painful and frequently distressing duty for the new incumbent to perform¹—still these will not counterbalance the serious objections that have been already pointed out.

And now to the consideration of the plan of Inspection ; and we will say at once, that, in our humble belief, this is the best of the two. At the same time, the details ought to be well and carefully matured, before any measure of the kind is set in operation. Thus, for instance, in the *existing*² state of things such a very 'summary' process as 'monition and sequestration' would be fatal to it. There are many livings throughout England and Wales, where the dilapidations are of such a serious nature, that one, if not two years' income would be required in order to repair them efficiently. Now, suppose the case of a rector or vicar,

¹ We allude to his obtaining the money for dilapidations from his predecessor's representatives.

² It would of course be a very different matter if all livings were in a proper state to commence with. But they are not so; very far indeed from it.

who works hard in his parish, who, heedless of purely prudential considerations, gives no inconsiderable portion of his goods ‘to feed the poor,’ has himself through this and other causes got involved in debt; who has, moreover, a wife and family, whom it is incumbent on him to maintain in the position which their station demands. How would such an one (we are not defending his conduct, we are merely stating a case)—how would such an one be able, *all at once*, on the monition of his bishop, to put his house of residence, his chancel, his farm-buildings, his fences, in a complete and thorough state of repair, and spend a whole year’s income or more for this purpose? How are he and his to live meanwhile? How are his creditors to be paid, with whom he has contracted no small amount of debt? Possibly it may be a *just* proceeding, but it is undoubtedly a *severe one*; and far too ‘summary’ likewise, we are bold to say, for the temper of the English people. It would be found to be so, even in the case of a careless and extravagant clergyman, who, if any, might be said to merit such treatment. How then could it be put into execution against an incumbent, who, through failing to obtain any money for dilapidations under the present régime from his predecessor’s estate, had, from no fault of his own, but simply by taking the living, become saddled with its liabilities? What bishop would venture to proceed in the manner indicated in such a case? Could he possibly dare to use the weapon that the law armed him with? How would he be able to brave the storm if he did? What exclamations would there be of ‘tyranny,’ of ‘ecclesiastical despotism,’ of ‘lording it over God’s heritage,’ and the like! An end would there be then of bishops ‘satisfying the public!’ Such a law would be almost as injurious to the bishop who put it into execution as to the priest against whom it was enforced. It seems, therefore, not too strong an expression to say that, from the day on which it was placed on the statute-book, it would become a dead letter, because of the simple fact of its utter impracticability.

It would seem, indeed, that this power was formerly, and probably still is, lodged in the bishop’s hands; for the law on the matter is thus laid down in Burn, under the head of Dilapidations :—

‘*Othob.* We do ordain and establish that all clerks shall take care decently to repair the houses of their benefices and other buildings. * * * And if any of them, after the *monition* of the bishop or archdeacons, shall neglect to do the same for the space of two months, the bishop shall cause the same effectually to be done at the cost and charges of such clerk, out of the profits of his church and benefice, by the authority of this present statute.’—*Athon.* p. 112.

Upon which the remark is added :—

'So that it is lawful for the ordinary to *sequester* the same for the making of such reparations.'—*Gibson*, p. 751.

Has, then, this 'statute' been found too harsh to be carried into effect, and so fallen into desuetude and become obsolete? If so, it surely would be useless labour, to call it by no stronger term, to re-enact it.

But here the principle of insurance might well and beneficially come in. For example, dilapidations, more or less extensive, are found on a benefice by a duly appointed ecclesiastical surveyor;¹ the bishop, in consequence, communicates with the incumbent, and he must either sufficiently repair them within a specified time, or else *insure his life* in some good office to the full amount required, and lodge the policy so effected as a security in the registry of the diocese;² or else, failing to do this, he must either give some *equally good security*, or be proceeded against by monition and sequestration. This would meet the objection cited above, and take away the sting from the proposed measure.³

The mode of appointment of such surveyors, or inspectors, their duties, and the manner in which they are to be paid, next engage our attention.

Taking it for granted, then, that their salaries for such work must be derived from ecclesiastical persons, we at once say that *these* ought to be the parties to elect them. This surely is only just and equitable. Consequently, all sections of the beneficed clergy ought to have a voice, or be represented, in any committee that might be appointed to choose them. Such might, therefore, with fitness consist of the bishop (or bishops, if there should be more than one diocese), the archdeacons or rural deans, and we may add the proctors of the diocese (or dioceses) for which the appointment was being made. In such a committee, we should have both the episcopal and the parochial elements.⁴

¹ Though styled an *ecclesiastical surveyor*, it is not meant that he is to be an *ecclesiastic*, but a regular professional man.

² Of course, if at any subsequent period he executed the required repairs in a manner satisfactory to the ecclesiastical surveyor, then his policy should be restored to him, and become his own property.

³ In case an incumbent's life should be of such a kind that no good office would insure it, then the bishop should have power to permit him to expend the amount estimated in *yearly instalments*, extending over a certain period, not less than five, and not greater than ten years, according to the bishop's discretion. Possibly also it would be advisable to *exempt* from the operation of any such law all incumbents *upwards of fifty years of age* at the time of its enactment, as at that period of life, they would not be able to effect an insurance on favourable terms. They, therefore, if they preferred it, might remain under the present system.

⁴ Had it been necessary, the capitular element might have been represented by the deans, but it is understood that cathedral preferment will not in any wise be affected by the measure, and, therefore, deans and chapters have no interest in the matter.

Another thing equally clear to us is, that the office should be thrown open to public competition, that candidates should be invited to apply for it by means of advertisements in the public newspapers, and that the committee should be guided in their selection by the testimonials of fitness that were sent in. By these means shall we be the most likely to obtain the best man for the place, and the office itself not sink into a mere piece of episcopal patronage.

The duties of the ecclesiastical surveyor should be *personally* to inspect every benefice in his district, at regularly appointed intervals (say once in five years, which would appear to be enough for all practical purposes), and to report thereon to the bishop in whose diocese it might happen to be. He should keep a register, wherein all dilapidations found on any benefice, and the monies expended thereon from time to time in liquidation of them, should be entered; such registrations to be open to the inspection of the incumbent of such benefice. By this means some degree of uniformity in the rate of charges, assessments of dilapidations, &c. would be obtained, a point in which we have shown the present system to be lamentably deficient; and, also, all uncertainty as to his liabilities in this respect, under which an incumbent at present labours, would be taken away.

A further duty yet requires to be mentioned. A living, we will suppose, falls vacant by the death of the incumbent, to meet the dilapidations on which a life-policy had been effected. Here it might be left to the executors of the late incumbent to contract with proper persons for the performance of all necessary repairs; but such works should be carried on under the supervision and direction of the surveyor, and payment for them made¹ only upon his certificate that they had been well and satisfactorily executed. Then any surplus that might exist should be paid over to the said executors. By this means the liabilities of the former incumbent would be discharged; and, at the same time, the money for dilapidations, not passing into the hands of the new incumbent, as under the present system, could not be applied, as, we grieve to say, sometimes happens now, to other than its legitimate objects.

Should, however, the executors in the above instance fail to enter into such contracts within the space of three months, say, from the time of the late incumbent's decease, then it should be the duty of the surveyor to proceed himself in the business, submitting his account of his receipts and payments, together with

¹ The registrar of the diocese, being the holder of the policy, or other security, at the time of the incumbent's decease, would be in possession of the requisite funds.

the vouchers for the same, both to the bishop and the new incumbent.

In the case where a living becomes vacant in consequence of a clergyman's promotion to another, it should be made imperative on him to execute all the repairs specified as being required on the last survey, or provide for their being so executed, before the necessary papers were supplied to him by his diocesan; and here the same duties should devolve upon the surveyor as have already been instanced.

Next, the method by which this new official should be paid has to be pointed out. This may be done in some such way as follows:—As a general rule, he could, in all probability, inspect *three contiguous benefices* in a day. Now, at fifteen shillings each, this would bring forty-five shillings per diem, a sum amply sufficient for his remuneration, travelling expenses included. And if his inspection of every benefice took place once in five years, we see that an average yearly charge of *three shillings* on every living would fully suffice for the object in view. In cases, moreover, where his services were *specially required* (as in the cases instanced above), a fee of five per cent. on the outlay made under his directions should be paid to him, one half by the new incumbent, and the other half by the late incumbent, or his estate.

It remains to be considered, what number of benefices should be under the inspection of any one surveyor. We believe, then, that there are some 12,270 benefices and incumbencies in England and Wales. At three shillings an incumbency, this gives an aggregate sum of about 1840*l.* Hence, if it were considered advisable to employ parties whose *whole undivided attention* should be devoted to this work, *four surveyors* for England and Wales would have each 3070 benefices to inspect in the course of five years, or 614 in the course of one year, at a salary of 460*l.* per annum. Besides this, there would be another source of income in the shape of fees, when vacancies occurred, as above instanced.

Should it, however, be deemed more advisable for each diocese to have its own surveyor, then he might be paid according to the *same rate*, and be allowed to follow his professional duties in other ways. Either plan has its advantages and its disadvantages, which it is not intended here to investigate. We content ourselves with simply showing how the ways and means can be obtained.

Thus then the plan of inspection, as here contemplated, briefly amounts to this: a surveyor, being properly appointed, would every five years inspect each benefice in the district assigned to him, and register the dilapidations then existing thereon, including an estimate of the cost of repairs. The bishop

would then notify to the incumbent either to execute such repairs within a certain time, or insure his life to the amount estimated, or give other equally good security for the same purpose, in order that such repairs might be executed in the case of his death. Should the dilapidations be increased on the next survey, then his life-policy or other security to be proportionably increased; should they be diminished, then the lien on them to be *pro tanto* diminished. In case he died, the policy or other security would be immediately available, and the surveyor would see to its being duly laid out in the manner already specified; the estate of the deceased being liable to no further charge for dilapidations beyond what was found against it at the last survey or inspection.

Another topic in connexion with this subject has to be discussed; a provision, viz., in any bill that may be proposed to guard against the future erection of parsonage houses which are too large for the income of the benefice; and likewise a remedy in cases where such an evil already exists. We call it an evil, because it needs no argument to show that a large house requires more furniture, more fuel, more servants, than a small one, and the parochial taxes and house-tax are proportionably greater; all which things are entirely independent of the question of dilapidations; so that, *in every way*, a house too large for the living is unquestionably an evil. Any measure therefore would be insufficient which did not contain some clause to the effect that no houses or buildings, or additions to present houses or buildings, which involved a greater outlay than £50¹ should be made on Church property, save with the consent of the patron of the living, and of the bishop of the diocese acting under the advice of the ecclesiastical surveyor for the time being; and that all buildings so erected and with such consent should be limited to such an extent that the whole parochial assessment on the parsonage, premises, and appurtenances thereto belonging, should not exceed a certain per-cent-age of the income of the living.²

This would for the future effectually guard against the erection of excessively large and expensive parsonage houses. Some persons may say, and we know do say, that if poor

¹ The restriction should not be made so as to prevent an incumbent enlarging a sitting-room, or adding a fresh sleeping apartment, or putting up some trifling outbuilding or other; and hence an outlay of £50 or under might be allowed. The Bill should look rather to the suppression of extravagant expenditure, and not to make a simply *rebatiment measure*.

² Ten per cent. of the living would, as a general rule, be a sufficiently large assessment. Exceptions might be made in cases where livings were under £100 per annum, and above £500. In the former, the assessment might be limited so as not to exceed £10; in the latter so as not to exceed £50.

benefices have handsome houses of residence attached to them, clergymen of some considerable private fortune will be found to take them, and thus more money will be expended on their preferments than is drawn from them ; whereas, if the house on any such benefice is only a poor one, then no one but a poor man will be induced to take it. Now this reasoning is specious, we admit. It may be true, but it may not. Within the limits specified (see note above) a sufficiently good house may be attached to even the poorest benefice ; and it is our belief also, that conscientious clergymen of good private means, will readily come forward, even though they have to live in a cottage, provided that cottage be in good repair and convenient in other respects. If rich men take poor livings, they should be content to complete the picture, and live in houses suitable thereto. A house assessed at 10*l.* a year may indeed raise a smile on the face of some good 'genteel' well-to-do people, and they would, perhaps, shrug their shoulders at the bare idea of their son, the Rev. Well-to-do, living in it. But bearing in mind, that assessments are somewhat below the actual rent, and that the *rent* of such a house would be 12*l.* and more, then not only a habitable, but even a comfortable cottage house, would be represented, in the great majority of instances, by such a rental, and would be far more suitable for a benefice of 100*l.* per annum and less, than a larger one. Where the incumbent was a poor man, this would be self-evident ; and where he was rich, he would at least be able to reply to the remonstrances of his more ambitious friends and visitors, 'Well, you know, it is 'Hobson's choice—this or none, and I must therefore make the 'best of it.' An officer on board ship, even though he be a prince of the blood, has to make the best of his quarters, and thinks it no hardship, and surely a clergyman may do the same. A far higher example still might be cited, but we refrain, for it will suggest itself at once to everyone's mind.

But how shall the recklessness of the past in this particular be remedied ? A small living of from 100*l.* to 200*l.* per annum has had a large parsonage house, a sort of mansion, erected on it, one that requires men-servants and maid-servants ; an establishment, in short, that 600*l.* per annum would fail to keep up. It falls vacant. What is the *first* consideration with the patron ? To obtain a man of piety, of integrity, of worth ? No such thing. These qualities are very desirable accessories, certainly ; but (save the mark), the *first* consideration, in the case of the man who has to preach to his people, 'Seek ye first 'the kingdom of God and his righteousness,' 'Ye cannot serve 'God and mammon,' is, has he *sufficient private means* ? This is essential, whatever anything else may be. Now this is not

right. It must surely strike every one that there is ‘something rotten in the state of Denmark,’ where such an anomaly as this exists. But what is the remedy for it? Simply this: when the assessment on the parsonage house exceeds the limits laid down above, then to give power to the incumbent to sell (in such a way as to prevent collusion with interested parties) such house, with the buildings and premises thereto appertaining, and with the proceeds of such sale, to build or purchase another residence, more suitable to the income of the living he holds, investing any surplus money that may remain from the sale of the former residence, in some permanent and judicious manner, as the surveyor shall advise, and as the patron and bishop shall consent to. Of course, in any transaction of the kind, care should be had, that all monies, arising from any such sale of a residence house and premises, should be lodged in the hands of responsible parties, so that no risk should be run of their being lost, either wholly or in part, by defalcation or otherwise.

An Act of Parliament already exists, which bears so closely on this point, that no apology need be made for quoting it here.

‘1 & 2 Vict. c. 23, sec. 7. “And be it enacted that when the residence house, gardens, orchards, and appurtenances belonging to any benefice, shall be inconveniently situate, or for other good and sufficient reasons it shall be thought advisable to sell and dispose thereof, it shall and may be lawful for the incumbent of such benefice (under certain conditions here specified), absolutely to sell and dispose of such house, gardens, orchards, and appurtenances, for such sum or sums of money as to the ordinary, patron, and archbishop shall appear fair and reasonable.”’

Hence, if the ‘good and sufficient reasons’ here mentioned were specified as embracing the case under consideration, a remedy, we see, would be found to exist in this Act. At the same time, the forms there prescribed require to be somewhat simplified, in order to be more readily available.

One further topic bearing upon this subject, though not exactly coming under the head of dilapidations, and we have done. It is not uncommonly supposed, that incumbents can only borrow money for building and repairing their parsonage houses, with the power of mortgaging the living for the repayment thereof—principal and interest—of the governors of Queen Anne’s Bounty. This is a mistake. On reference to 17 Geo. III. c. 53, and to 1 & 2 Vict. c. 23, we find that incumbents can borrow, giving a like security for repayment, of any ‘person or persons, corporation or corporations, aggregate or sole.’ It is not mentioned, however, in any of these Acts that a rector or vicar can advance the money himself for such purposes on the same terms. Vice-Chancellor Kindersley, however, on the 21st of February last, delivered a very

important judgment, as bearing on this point, in the case of *Boyd v. Barker*. Mr. Boyd had succeeded Mr. Barker in the living of Wouldham in the diocese of Rochester; and whilst the latter was the incumbent, he had, with the consent of the bishop, who was also the patron, increased the accommodation of the parsonage, *advancing the money himself* for the purpose, and charging it upon the living under the provisions of 17 Geo. III. c. 53, commonly known as Gilbert's Act. Mr. Boyd, on succeeding him, filed a Bill to impeach the transaction; contending, among other things, that Mr. Barker, as incumbent, was not warranted in advancing the money himself. The Vice-Chancellor, however, overruled the objection, saying that although it was true that the Act did not say that the lender and borrower might be the same person, yet there was nothing to prevent it; and that the transaction was within the meaning of the Act, its object being to induce clergymen to reside among their parishioners, and 'to give a habitable, decent, and respectable house.'—*Times*, February 22, and *Guardian*, February 23.

And this is as it should be; for who are so deeply and directly interested in the improvements effected on their livings as the clergy themselves? And why should it be, when a rector or vicar has laid out his money judiciously, and with the consent of the bishop and patron, in the material improvement of his benefice, that his family should be thereby impoverished if he were shortly afterwards to die or leave it? whereas if he had borrowed the same amount of any other 'person or persons,' they would be repaid in thirty years, by yearly instalments of one-thirtieth of the original loan, and 3½ per cent of the outstanding portion.

But this facility of building and repairing houses of residence should be extended, likewise, both to the repair (and rebuilding where necessary) of chancels, and to the erection of farm-buildings, cottages for labourers, and the draining of the glebe-lands. To the former, because chancels have been, in many instances, allowed to fall into a state of almost hopeless decay, and it is next to an impossibility in most cases for rectors to repair them, out of their *incomes*, and so many a glorious and beautiful old structure erected by our forefathers to the honour and glory of God suffers detriment;—and to the latter, because ecclesiastical property ought to be improved *pari passu* with other property; and how can the clergy, who have but a *life-interest* in their estates, do this except in some such way as the one specified? Many is the real improvement, enhancing to all future time the value of a living, which would be effected, if, under certain judicious guidance,—the consent of the patron and ordinary having been previously obtained,—an incumbent could

expend his money in such works, knowing, that by so doing, not only he might expect to reap the benefit thereof during his life-time, but also, in case of his decease, his family would not be thereby absolute losers.

We have now finished our task, and commend the subject to the best attention of the legislature and of all the true members of the Church. We sincerely trust, that amid the din and strife of a session, in which men's minds are likely to be engrossed with far more exciting and absorbing questions, they will yet find time to devise and carry some salutary and well-digested measure of quiet and useful reform in this particular, and thereby confer a boon of incalculable benefit not only on the clergy, but also on church property throughout the nation.

ART. VII.—*The Scottish Ecclesiastical Journal.* February,
1859.

IT is with very sincere regret, both for our sakes and that of our readers, that we make any reference to Scottish subjects. But a promise was made in our last Number (p. 204) to the effect, that we should be prepared to listen, and, if need were, to reply, in a proper spirit, to any who thought it worth while to impugn our reasonings. In fulfilment of this promise, we think it right to say something, by way of answer, to a letter in the February Number of the *Scottish Ecclesiastical Journal*. The writer pays us the compliment of commencing his letter by the expression of an opinion ‘that the remarks upon the Eucharistic ‘controversy’ in the last *Christian Remembrancer* call for an ‘answer from some Scotch theologian.’ The authorship of the letter is announced in the following words at its conclusion:—

‘I do not wish, on this first occasion that I have contributed to your columns, to shelter myself under any anonymous designation. In spite of the little joke which the reviewer makes at my expense, I have always been willing to bear the responsibility of what I write on such subjects, and therefore beg to subscribe myself your obedient servant. G. H. F.’

It would be mere affectation to pretend that we feel any difficulty in the interpretation of these initials. We must assume that they indicate the Rev. G. H. Forbes, of Burntisland, in Scotland, the editor of many valuable contributions to patristic and liturgical lore, and likewise of a periodical known as the *Gospel Messenger*, with its appendix, the *Panoply*. It is some slight satisfaction to find that we have, in this gentleman’s judgment, improved during the past year. Our latest remarks ‘call ‘for an answer;’ whereas, our first article on the ‘Eucharistic ‘Controversy in Scotland,’ was simply dismissed by the same authority with the observation, that it was ‘very unworthy of ‘the subject.’’

Now, Mr. Forbes has never, that we can recollect, been treated in these pages in any other tone but that of the courtesy and praise to which his character and labours so justly entitle him. What he means by the ‘little joke which the reviewer ‘makes at his expense’ we are at a loss to understand. Mr. Forbes’ countrymen are, we know, constantly accused of not perceiving a joke where it is intended, but this is an instance of a joke being imagined where assuredly none was meant. We

¹ *Gospel Messenger* for April, 1858.

spoke of him (p. 203) as ‘that mysterious personage known (we believe) in Scotland as the *Panoplist*, a writer deserving all possible respect for learning and piety.’ We employed the epithet *mysterious* partly because we did not feel quite sure how much of the bound volume of the *Panoply* lying before us was the composition of its editor, and how much that of others; and partly because of the peculiarity of its teaching, *considered as a whole*—a peculiarity so great, that we should like to know how may priests and laymen could be discovered, who were willing at the same moment to subscribe to its teaching upon the sacraments of Holy Baptism and the Eucharist, or the Thirty-nine Articles in Scotland, and prayers for the dead. It is this great singularity which, in our humble judgment, casts a shade over the authority of this able and learned divine. In the words of an old English poet:—

‘This swayeth me,
No man alone in points of faith can be.’

But although Mr. G. H. Forbes still seems to treat our lucturations in a style that is very lofty, very much *tanguam ex cathedrā*, and not a little contemptuous, we are really anxious, if possible, to keep our word, and to ‘reply in a proper spirit.’ ‘God defend the right!’ is still our prayer. If we have maintained ought that is not His Truth, may our feeble efforts come to nought! If, on the contrary, we have pleaded for that Truth, may He preserve it alive in Scotland, and cause it to triumph in His own good time, not through the means of proscriptions and depositions from office, but by the silent might of His Spirit, overruling the hearts of men!

Mr. Forbes has been obliged to compress his observations into a comparatively brief space. Although his letter occupies eight columns of the *Journal* in which it appears, he has, of course, been compelled to confine himself to what *he* considers the most important topics. But after making all due allowance for such constraint, the amount of argument left untouched and unnoticed causes us some surprise. If any of our readers who possess a copy of our article on Bishop Wordsworth’s ‘Opinion,’ will just take the trouble to mark with two different signs the positions respectively attacked and left unattacked in the letter of G. H. F., they will also, we think, be surprised, not merely at the number of arguments passed by, but at the peculiar notions entertained by the assailant respecting their relative importance.

We shall follow Mr. Forbes step by step through his own list of topics, in his own order, with one or two exceptions. The exceptions to be made are not prompted by dishonesty or fear.

But this present paper is a mere defence, in accordance with our promise, of our previous critique. Where Mr. Forbes has introduced new matter, or where he has expressed his dissent from positions on which we have no discussion with the Bishop of S. Andrew's, we must positively decline to follow him.

The points on which Mr. Forbes touches are:—1. The sense of the word *become* in things divine, with the illustrations from (a) magnetism, (b) the Incarnation. 2. The nature of the Presence vouchsafed to us in the Holy Eucharist. 3. The meaning of St. John (vi. 33—57). 4. Our apparent ignorance. 5. Our apparent irreverence and ‘divergence * *’ from the ‘old Tractarian teaching.’ 6. The patristic teaching on the Presence. 7. Our apparent evasion of the argument from the Early Liturgies. 8. The misapprehension on the question of the Sacrifice.

Let us consider these topics *seriatim*. We shall be as brief as we can, but explanations must often, of necessity, occupy much more space than an attack.

1. And, *firstly*, as respects the all-important word *to become* as employed in things divine. The presenters of Mr. Cheyne urged that the word **MUST** imply either transubstantiation, or else mere equivalence and representation; and, to our deep regret, the Bishop of S. Andrew's appeared in his ‘Opinion’ (pp. 10, 11) to endorse this argument. We said that it appeared to us to be pure and unmitigated rationalism. We never meant for an instant, that all who employed it were rationalists. All of us are but too liable, in the excitement of controversy, to use arguments of which we do not, at the moment, perceive the danger.

But as for the argument itself, viewed abstractedly, we must deliberately, and we hope in the fear of God, repeat what we have already said. By *rationalism* we understand an undue use of reason in the things of faith. And it *is* a most undue use of reason—it *is* rationalism, pure and unmitigated—thus to limit Almighty power, by daring to assert that the divinely-wrought change implied in the word *become*, **MUST** be restricted to one or the other of two particular kinds of change.

Mr. Forbes, we are thankful to perceive, does not venture to make any such assertion. In thus refraining from it, he does all that we want upon this head. We never dreamt of implying (for this would be a rationalism as bad as that we are condemning) that the term *to become* must, in and by itself, have the meaning which we here claim for it. That meaning, we perfectly agree with him, must ‘be fixed by some other considerations.’ The argument of the presenters would fix it *a priori*, without the trouble of going into these other considerations. That argument, we repeat, Mr. Forbes has not employed, and we sincerely trust

that neither he nor any other reverend writers will for the future employ it, when their attention has once been drawn to its exceeding danger.

And, this being the case, we might fairly leave our illustrations to take care of themselves. Yet, as we had rather run the risk of being charged with prolix and wearisome repetition than apparent subterfuge, they shall again receive some slight consideration.

(a) The illustration from magnetism. It is perfectly fair and natural, that in the order which Mr. Forbes has adopted, this illustration should be brought thus prominently forward. But we must be permitted to remind our readers that this was not the place which it occupied in our critique. Once, and again, (p. 173 and p. 207,) we expressly called it ‘a subordinate point.’ And if any of those who agree or who disagree with us, care to argue that the whole question is supernatural, and can find no fitting parallel in what is merely natural, we do not care to reply. By anticipation we have said in our late appendix :—

‘We have called this a subordinate point, and for this reason—even supposing that it were proved ever so distinctly that things earthly could not become something else earthly, without losing their own essence, it could not thence be inferred that such change was impossible, where the substance was confessedly supernatural and immaterial.’

But as a counter-illustration, against any who adduce instances from grapes, and acorns, and the like, it is, we still maintain, a perfectly fair and valid one. Be magnetism what it may, it still remains true, that the steel becomes a magnet, not in the sense of transubstantiation, nor in the sense of equivalence and representation; the only senses in which, according to the Presenters, the word as expressive of change, could possibly be used.

Mr. Forbes argues, that the analogy between the two cases is very imperfect. Very likely: if it were perfect it would hardly deserve to be called a mere analogy. It is, however, very probably, less imperfect than he supposes. We cannot stop to give our reasons for this opinion in the text: we cannot advance subordinate topics to the rank of principal ones. But as G. H. F. evidently takes an interest in the scientific part of the question, and as we believe our information on this head to be even more recent than his, we subjoin a few observations in a foot-note.¹

¹ Mr. Forbes is quite justified in assuming the existence of a great analogy (or even more than an analogy) between *magnetism* and *heat*. Mr. Grove, in his ‘Correlation of Physical Forces,’ describes experiments tending to prove that *light*, *heat*, *magnetism*, and *electricity* are all, under certain circumstances, *interchangeable*. Good judges, as Sir Benjamin Brodie (*‘Psychological Inquiries’*), and an able

(b) The next point shall be introduced in Mr. Forbes' own language :—

' Let us next see whether the reviewer's theological illustration is more fortunate than his scientific one; for under each head he gives us but one.¹ He tells us that this explanation of the word *become* is "utterly irreconcilable" with S. John's saying that "The Word became flesh."

Yes! it *is* utterly irreconcilable; and Mr. Forbes, we are thankful to say, does not attempt to assert the contrary. If the theological sense of the word *become* **MUST** (as the Presenters tell us) mean either transubstantiation or else mere representation and equivalence, then the Eternal Word **MUST** have been ceased to be God, when he was made Incarnate, or else have become a mere representative of humanity, not a true and perfect Man. The use of the term *become* made by S. John—in speaking of the central mystery of the faith, the Incarnation—shows that its meaning cannot possibly, in things divine, be limited, as the Presenters would have it, without involving us in deadly heresy.

But the critic of our critique proceeds ;—

' It is surely quite unnecessary to remind any one acquainted with the Fathers, that this expression of S. John's was much discussed in early times, for it was appealed to by the Apollinarians and several other sects in favour of their errors.'

Mr. Forbes is right. It is quite unnecessary to remind us of what is known to the meanest beginner in Church History : of

French critic, M. Laugel, consider Mr. Grove to have fairly established and made good this remarkable discovery.

But when Mr. Forbes proceeds to express his belief that men of science are all agreed in regarding *heat*, and consequently its correlatives, as being conditions or vibrations of substances, but not in themselves actual substances, he is expressing a conviction which is, to say the least, extremely premature. What '*ces mystérieux agents*' (as M. Laugel justly terms them) are, is still a *moot* question. The late Dr. Roget, a high authority, thought the evidence for and against their *substantiality* equally balanced. Some high names are undoubtedly ranged on the negative side. But the experiments of the late M. Niépce, in France, and of Sir David Brewster, seem rather to make for the positive view. A friend of the last named *savant* tells us, that he conceives Sir David Brewster to have been induced by his researches into *latent light* rather to forego his previous inclinations towards the *vibration-theory*, and to have returned to the belief in their substantial (however subtle or ethereal) character.

It is, of course, highly dangerous to make physical and theological truths mutually interdependent. If science does ultimately *prove* the *vibration-theory*, let that conclusion be fairly accepted. But if (as we believe the turn of opinion to set at present) *light*, and its correlatives, shall be *proved* to be substances, will not the Scriptural phrases ('*God is Light*', and the like) have more force and meaning than under a theory which, in this point of view, might be made to sound like an echo of the pantheistic teaching of Spinoza?

¹ Mr. Forbes' letter is replete with minor inaccuracies, and this is one of them. We gave another illustration (p. 210) from Genesis i. 7, 'And man *became* a living soul.' Now this illustration may be bad or good; but, at any rate, its existence should be allowed.

what was known even to this ignorant reviewer many years before he was aware of the very existence of Burntisland. It is the more unnecessary, because it does not really touch the point at issue.

That point is simply this—Is, or is not, a judge in an ecclesiastical court justified by the usage of holy Scripture in accepting and stamping with the weight of his approbation, the above limitation of meaning to the word *become*?

It is not the very shadow of a reply to tell us, what we all knew, that heretics of old abused the expression, and that doctors of the Church assigned to it its rightful meaning. But their teaching shows, says Mr. Forbes, that there is a distinction between the manner in which ‘the Word became flesh,’ and that in which the bread and wine become the body and blood of Christ our Lord.

Of course there is, and we were at pains to point it out. We quoted (p. 174, *note*) a passage from a very ancient doctor, S. Justin Martyr, respecting the analogy, not the identity, of these two mysterious changes. And, lest any of our readers should be at a loss where to look for an account of the distinction between a Person of the most Holy Trinity taking our nature, and that of the consecrated elements becoming the body and blood of Christ our Saviour, we referred them to ‘A Modest Reply to the Rev. W. G. Shaw’s Pamphlet.’ An analogy implies points of difference, as well as of similarity. But as the limitation placed by the Presenters on the term in question would lead us into fatal heresy if applied to the Incarnation, even so would we earnestly implore all reverent and thoughtful opponents of our views to pause before they venture to apply it to the parallel mystery of the Eucharist. We are not without hope that, like Mr. Forbes, they will thus pause, and that we shall not hear of this argument again.

(2.) G. H. F. makes out a list of six or seven points on which he impugns the teaching put forth in this Review, respecting the *modus* in which our Lord’s body is present. But in two of these points he has mistaken our meaning, and the rest all resolve themselves into one single but comprehensive question.

And, firstly, as to his mistakes of our meaning. One of these mistakes is probably our fault; of the cause of the other we are less clear.

Mr. Forbes thinks that we meant to teach that the body of Christ sacramentally present, descends. We did not mean this, but we ought perhaps to have explained more clearly that the doctrine of a supra-local presence is intended to exclude, *inter alia*, the idea of local motion. The term *condescension*, though capable, we believe, of an innocent use, is fairly open to objec-

tion, as it stands in our argument (p. 174).¹ That the Holy Spirit is the agent, as He was in the mystery of the Incarnation, is one of these points of resemblance, in which we are sure to have the fullest countenance from such a student and editor of liturgies as Mr. G. H. Forbes.

But, secondly, Mr. Forbes accuses us of ‘clearly teaching ‘that Christ has two bodies and two bloods.’ If any other reader, besides G. H. F., believes that we have really taught this, he must think us inconsistent indeed. We quoted patristic passages (selected by Mr. Keble) to show the indivisibility of the Person of Christ. Out of three concluding paragraphs two were devoted to a protest against those who appeared to divide the sacred Person of Him who is *ādialpētos*. Moreover, the reprint of the article, which Mr. G. H. Forbes appears to have seen, bore on its title page the following mottoes :

‘Is Christ divided?’—1 COR. i. 13.

‘One Person, never to be divided.’—ARTICLE II.

‘It is on all sides plainly confessed, first, that this sacrament is a true and real participation of Christ, who thereby imparteth Himself, even his whole entire Person, as a mystical Head, unto every soul that receiveth Him.’—HOOKER, *Eccle. Polity*, Book V. ch. lxvii. § 7.

We quoted (p. 197.) the striking comment of Dr. Moberly, on the Pauline expression of a *spiritual body*. ‘What a profound unfathomable depth! A body, without *where* or *when*’

With these warnings at the beginning, the middle, and the end of our paper, it is difficult to conceive that any reader, not pre-determined to do so, could deduce from our pages the monstrous notion of two bodies of Christ. Of course, with Bishop Jeremy Taylor, we answer the query, ‘Is it the body ‘which was born of the Virgin Mary, and which suffered on the ‘Cross?’ with the reply, ‘I know of no other.’ And if we find that any readers besides hostile critics, have so grievously misunderstood us, despite all our endeavours to the contrary, we will gladly adopt Mr. G. H. Forbes’ proposed amendment, and instead of speaking of ‘the natural ‘body and blood of Christ in heaven,’ say, ‘the body and ‘blood of Christ naturally present in heaven,’ as distinguished from the same solemn substances sacramentally present in the Holy Eucharist.

But the remaining points of difference between us and Mr. Forbes, on this head, really resolve themselves into this one question. Is our blessed Lord substantially present in the Holy Eucharist, or is He only virtually present?

¹ We must not be understood, however, to condemn the opinion that it *descends*, as heretical; though it is certainly not *de Fide*.

Now, unless we are much mistaken, the Scottish Episcopate and Presbyterate would all but unanimously affirm, that Christ is virtually present in the sacrament of Holy Baptism. Indeed, we suppose there are few Churchmen, excepting partisans of the late Mr. Gorham, who would deny this position.

But if we may accept this as a point which is all but universally recognised and acknowledged, we would submit it to the earnest, thoughtful, and prayerful consideration of our readers, whether (remembering what words are and where they must be accounted for) they would dare to assert, with their Bibles open before them, that Holy Scripture gave no intimation of a nearer and more intimate presence of Christ our Lord in Holy Communion than in Baptism.

But if there be a difference, what is that difference, on the hypothesis that in both cases the presence is merely virtual?

And in the next place, after looking at their Bibles, we would have them take in hand their Prayer-books. Is consecration therein treated as a light matter? Consider that in Baptism a deacon is allowed to officiate. Nay, the great majority of Christians hold that, in cases of necessity, even lay baptism is valid. No theologians, not even the schoolmen, teach that benediction of the water in Baptism is more than a reverent practice.¹ It is not of the essence of that sacrament, but consecration is of the essence of the other sacrament; and where will be found a deacon or a layman who will take upon himself the performance of that rite? Hardly, we trust, within the pale of the Anglican communion, however rashly some few may have talked and written. But then how broad is the line of demarcation thus drawn by the Church between these two great means of grace.

If we understand Mr. G. H. Forbes aright, the faithful receive in the Holy Eucharist, under each species, one substance only at a time. This substance in each case (whether it be the consecrated bread or the consecrated wine) is a single substance, visible, material, local, circumscribed by space, although it has become the vehicle of a very high and holy thing.

But is there no other substance co-existent (not con-substantiated) with this visible one? We have an aid towards the solution of this question, which we did not possess when we last wrote. Through the kindness of an acquaintance we have been allowed to see a copy of a tractate by a living Scottish bishop, from which we extract the following declaration:—

¹ Illa benedictio, quae adhibetur aquæ, non est de necessitate baptismi: sed pertinet ad quandam solemnitatem.—(Summa Theo!. tertia pars, Qu. LXVI. Art. 3, s. 5.)

' I would say with Gelasius, as quoted by Bishop Pearson, "the bread and wine pass into a divine substance—in divinam substantiam transeunt."

' I would say with the Homily concerning the Sacrament, part first, p. 399, "The meat we seek for in this supper is a ghostly substance."

Now we need not stop to point out that *ghostly* is the same as *spiritual*, or to show with the aid of Sir W. Hamilton¹ the curious fact in philology, that the Greek *ψυχή* and *πνεῦμα*, the Latin *spiritus* and *anima*, the German *geist* and *seele*, the English *ghost* and *soul*, the Hebrew *nephesh* and *ruach*, and the Sanscrit *atmā*, are all derived from analogous roots, signifying *breath*, *wind*, *air*. But it really is important to observe, that as we cannot suppose that the outward part of the Sacrament is a *ghostly substance*, or a *divina substantia*, we know not to what these words can be applied, unless it be the inward part.

But then this is surely no other than the doctrine for which we contend, and which G. H. F. stigmatizes as so utterly unpatriotic. Those who allow the co-existence with the *signum* of a *divine and ghostly substance* will hardly dispute the remaining positions to which G. H. F. objects, viz.: that this substance is immaterial and invisible.

As for Mr. Forbes' objection that to speak of it as *supra-local* is to invest this substance with the properties of the Godhead, we must simply again refer him to Dr. Moberly's comment on S. Paul's expression, *a spiritual body*. Let it, moreover, be carefully borne in mind, that *Sacramental pluripresence* is not *omnipresence*.

Mr. Forbes objects to Bishop Burnet's representation of the teaching of Gelasius and other anti-Eutychian Fathers. Now it is generally allowed that points whereon men of different sentiments agree are thereby strengthened, and it is certainly curious that a Gallican archbishop, the well-known Peter de Marca, should assign to the teaching of Gelasius the same construction which we placed upon it, and which Burnet appears to have done likewise. ' It follows,' says de Marca, ' that it is rightly observed by Gelasius, that the Sacrament of the body and blood of Christ is a divine thing, because the bread and wine pass by the agency of the Holy Spirit, into a divine substance, namely, into the Spiritual body of Christ; but that, on the other hand, the substance of the bread and the wine did not cease to exist, but remain with the property of their own nature.'²

¹ Lectures on Metaphysics, Vol. I. pp. 134-5.

² ' Unde consequitur recte observatum à Gelasio, Sacra menta corporis et sanguinis Christi divinam rem esse, quia panis et vinum in divinam transeunt

(3.) We now come to the interpretation of certain verses in the sixth chapter of the Gospel of S. John; a topic which gives opportunity to our critic to charge us with a ‘Profane introduction of the name of the All-holy One,’ and an approximation to the sin of taking ‘God’s name *in vain*, by saying He has revealed what He has not said.’

The fairest way of bringing these very serious accusations to an issue will be to place side by side the Authorised Version and the Revised Translation by Five Clergymen, which Mr. Forbes (not unreasonably) prefers.

GOSPEL OF S. JOHN, CHAP. VI.

Authorised Version.

33. For the bread of God is He which cometh down from heaven.

51. I am the living bread which came down from heaven . . . and the bread that I will give is My flesh.

56. He that eateth My flesh, and drinketh My blood, dwelleth in Me and I in him.

57. . . . he that eateth Me, even he shall live by Me.

GOSPEL OF S. JOHN, CHAP. VI.

Version revised by Five Clergymen.

33. For the bread of God is that which cometh down from heaven.

51. I am the living bread which came down from heaven . . . yea, and the bread that I will give is My flesh.

56. He that eateth My flesh and drinketh My blood dwelleth in Me and I in him.

57. . . . he that eateth Me, even he shall live by reason of Me.

Now, that the Version of the Five Clergymen is the more scholarly and exact, we readily admit: *that it involves a different doctrine, we do utterly and emphatically deny.*

Let us examine the 33d verse: it is the only one in which the divergence is of any real importance, as regards the present question. We can have no possible objection to the more exact rendering, ‘the bread of God is *that* which cometh down from heaven,’ provided it be distinctly understood, that the word *that* does not signify *that thing*, but *that bread*, as in the original Greek it evidently does. But the further inquiry still remains, —What is the living bread? Is it a person or a thing, of which our blessed Lord is speaking? And it is surely neither profane nor irrational to see a reply in the words which follow in verses 35 and 51, ‘Ἐγὼ εἰμὶ ὁ ἄρτος τῆς ζωῆς . . . Ἐγὼ εἰμὶ ὁ ἄρτος ὁ ζῶν ὁ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καταβάσας. ‘I (emphatically) am the bread ‘of life. I (again emphatically) am the living bread which came ‘down from heaven.’

substantiam. S. Spiritū perficiente, nempe in corpus Christi spiritale; sed ex alia parte non desinere substantiam et naturam panis et vini, sed ea permanere in suæ proprietate naturæ.’—Cited by Dr. Routh, Script. Eccles. Opusc. tom. ii. p. 142.

It is remarkable, that just before the passage usually quoted (by Pearson and others), Gelasius says: ‘*Cum utique nulla res sit, quæ non propriam possit habere substantiam . . . sublatâ substantiâ, pariter res quælibet illa tollitur.*’—(Routh, *ubi supra*). Now does not this principle apply to the *res sacramenti*, as well as to other *res*? If not, let it be shown why.

Nor let our readers imagine that such an interpretation is one which is improvised for the occasion. The author of a 'Plain Commentary on the Gospels,' published in 1855, while adopting, in verse 33, the correction *that* for *He*, immediately adds, (the italics are his,) 'Our Lord does not, apparently, explain that He is speaking of *a Person* until verse 35.' And there is surely something truly similar in tone in the following very ancient words, quoted by Dr. Pusey from a work commonly assigned to S. Athanasius:—' The Divine Word owneth the spiritual Food. 'The Word Himself saith that He is bread. "I am the bread 'of life Who came down from heaven." He saith also, "He 'that eateth my Flesh hath life in himself." Eating Him, then, 'we burst forth into a hymn.'

Or these, again, from Julius Firmicus, a learned Christian apologist of the fourth century:—' But to say more plainly 'what is that Bread, whereby the destructiveness of miserable 'death is overcome, the Lord Himself, with His holy and 'venerable mouth hath shown, lest through diverse handlings 'the hopes of men should be deceived by wrong interpretations. 'For He saith in the Gospel of S. John: "I am the Bread of 'Life: he that cometh to Me shall not hunger: and he that 'believeth on Me shall never thirst." . . . And again Himself, 'that He might deliver the substance of His majesty to believers, 'says: " Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink 'His Blood, ye have no life in you."'

The reviewer, on the first appearance of the revised Version above quoted, made a careful comparison of both translations (the Authorised and the new one) with the original text. Having satisfied himself that in this part, at least, the Authorised Version was substantially correct, in so far that it did not convey to ordinary English readers any false idea, he quoted it with confidence, as a faithful rendering on the whole, and prefaced his entire quotation with the words (p. 171):—' Now 'God Himself, in the person of the Eternal Son, has vouch- 'safed to make the following revelation.' Then followed the verses above quoted.

We can see nothing in such a heading to repent or to be ashamed of. If Mr. G. H. Forbes thinks it right to repeat the insinuation that such language as the above verges on the breach of the Third Commandment, he may be assured that we shall make no further reply. We shall be content to leave such charges to the consideration of all impartial and calmly-judging men, whether they agree with us or not on other points.

¹ Cited by Dr. Pusey. *Doctrine of Real Presence* (pp. 378 and 384).

But Mr. Forbes proceeds to argue that the passage quoted from S. John does not relate to the Holy Eucharist at all,—or, at least, that the words italicised in our late review (the personal pronouns), do not relate to it. We shall not stop to discuss this question with him, for it is not one of the topics originally at issue between us and the Bishop of S. Andrew's. Bishop Wordsworth has not uttered this denial. Without any desire to underrate the depth and thoughtfulness of many of the remarks on our *Lord's Discourse at Capernaum* in the *Panoply*, its assignation of the respective portions of that discourse is at any rate peculiar. Without now entering into reasons, we may briefly state our concurrence with the author of the 'Plain Commentary,' that 'verse 51 to verse 58 is a building of the "doctrine of the Holy Eucharist on the doctrine of the Incarnation.'

We now come to a topic to which we must request the very special attention of our readers. Mr. Forbes speaks of our comment on this passage from S. John, and gives an extract, headed with the words, 'I quote the most important sentences.' Now the natural inference from such a remark would surely be that these sentences were consecutive ones; unless, indeed (which is not the case), the presence of intervening asterisks, or the like marks, acted as a warning to the reader. Much as we regret such self-repetition, we see no way of doing justice to the matter but by setting before the reader the following parallel.

To aid the eye in its recognition of the sentences eliminated by Mr. Forbes as being of minor importance, we now place these sentences in brackets and italics. In other respects they are unchanged.

THE CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCER.

(Vol. xxxvii. pp. 171-2.)

As originally published.

'We assert the plain teaching of these words to be, that the reception of the body of Christ involves the reception of the person of Christ.'

We ask those who differ from us to produce one single passage of Holy Scripture which speaks of the presence of the natural body of Christ (in earth or heaven), or the body of Christ sacramentally present in the Eucharist, in such wise as to exclude the presence of the person of Christ.

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passage from the writings of any bishop of Christ's Church, except the present Bishop of S. Andrew's, or the bishops who signed the Pastoral of 1858.

We ask them to produce one such passage from the works of any divine of authority, Anglican, Greek, Roman, or Lutheran, prior to the year 1856.

But this, it will be said, is all negative evidence. Now no one, when it makes for him, can lay greater stress upon negative evidence than Bishop Wordsworth; but we by no means wish to confine ourselves to it. Our only difficulty is to compass into brief compass the mass of positive testimony in our favour.]

It is equally good theology to say, "His sacred body hung in death upon the cross;" or, "He hung in death upon the cross;" to say, "His body was buried;" or (Article 3d), "Christ was buried." There is no clashing, no opposition, though there is, we admit, a distinction.

The distinction is this. The personality of Christ our Lord resides in his Godhead; and the Godhead, being impassible, could not die. But as it remained alike with his body and soul, God the Son did die for man, and was buried, in the body; while God the Son, in the Spirit, went into Hades. [*This is the language of Holy Scripture and the Catholic Church.*]

Turn we to Hebrews x. 5-7. "When He cometh into the world He saith, Sacrifice and offering Thou wouldest not, but a body hast Thou prepared Me: . . . then said I, Lo, I come to do thy will, O God." We therefore speak with equal propriety of the oblation of Christ's body once offered, as the fathers constantly do, or, in the language of the English and Scotch Communion Offices, of "His . . . oblation of Himself once offered." Again there is no clashing, no contradiction; both phrases are equally scriptural, [both employed in this very epistle. In the 10th chapter, at verse 10, we read of "the offering of the body of Jesus Christ," while, in the chapter immediately preceding (verse 14), it is "Christ who . . . offered Himself."]

And so, precisely in like manner of His body, sacramentally present. Just as though, primarily, Christ (through the Eternal Spirit) offered his body upon the cross, and yet, as a consequence, offered Himself, for that his

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Godhead, wherein resides his personality, never left that body: so, too, by consecration, is *primarily* wrought, through the agency of the same Holy Spirit, the presence of the body and blood of Christ, and then, *as a consequence*, the presence of whole Christ, in his sacred and indivisible personality, as God and man. There is no clashing, no contradiction. We challenge any one to show that this teaching has ever been authoritatively condemned before A.D. 1858.

But how does Bishop Wordsworth explain these passages of S. John? They are to be interpreted (p. 33) "according to that most ordinary form of speech, whereby a part is taken for the whole." (!) Has any other bishop of Christ's Church, whose name is of the slightest weight as an authority, been known to reduce our Lord's solemn words to "a form of speech"? And from what species of error are we safe, if this principle be once admitted? Zuinglius may say, "This is my body," is "a form of speech." Apollinaris might have urged that "Now is my soul troubled" was "a form of speech,"—and why not even Socinus, that "My Lord and my God" is to be interpreted in like manner?

Now we will not so much as pause for an instant to inquire, in what way such a *censor morum* as G. H. F. reconciles this mode of quotation with strict and scrupulous equity. We can imagine many excuses; let the question of fairness, then, be put in abeyance.

But the real points at issue lie deeper than this. Mr. Forbes speaks in his letter of 'the challenge of the reviewer.' He is quite justified in so doing; there is no denying that we did issue a challenge, and we must now ask;—how has it been met?

The challenge, though four-fold in form, was in strictness of a three-fold character.¹ The reader who takes the trouble to cast his eye over the above extract will see that we asked for counter-passages from fathers, for counter-passages from post-Reformation divines (prior to 1856), and above all, as being of primary and paramount importance, for counter-passages from Holy Scripture.

On the patristic portion of the question we have been fairly met: mistakenly, as we think and trust to show, but still fairly and openly.

Of authoritative condemnation of such teaching, G. H. F., with

¹ It may, however, be considered four-fold if we take into account the challenge to opponents to show any similar condemnation by authority.

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the whole range of Church history open before him, does not supply us with a single previous instance.

From post-Reformation authorities G. H. F. does not quote a single letter. He does not even refer to, or hint at, or allude to, any such thing.

From Holy Scripture G. H. F. does not quote a single letter. He does not even refer to, or hint at, or allude to, any such thing.

And yet Mr. Forbes is reported, we believe with perfect truth, to be among the first (perhaps to be *the very first*) in point of learning of the Scottish Presbyterate. Our readers will draw their own conclusions from a silence so truly significant.

It will be observed, however, that we, on our side, did quote the language of Holy Scripture. We gave one passage from the Septuagint version of Psalm xl. 6, 7, a version stamped in this instance, as in so many others, with the sanction of an inspired penman in the New Testament (Hebrews x. 5, 7). From the same remarkable epistle we cited part of x. 10, and ix. 14.

What is G. H. F.'s comment and reply? *His comment and reply is, that without a sign or hint to his readers, he quietly eliminates in his quotation the texts of Holy Writ, as not being apparently among 'the most important sentences.'*

Is this quite just to the many laymen in North Britain who read the *Scottish Ecclesiastical Journal*, but who seldom or never, as we are credibly informed, see the *Christian Remembrancer* or any reprints from its pages? We are all of us but too much in danger, in these controversies, of seeking for victory rather than for truth. Earnestly do we desire for opponents, as well as for ourselves, that what is written may henceforth be free, not only from this actual fault, but even from its very semblance.

(4.) The approach to the patristic question is barred by two minor points, on which G. H. F. first touches; namely, our apparent ignorance and apparent irreverence. Let each, in its order, be stated in the very words of our assailant. To the above strangely mangled extract G. H. F. appends the following comment:

'I have made this long extract because it is very evident that the writer lays great stress upon this argument. I will frankly say, that it appears to me to have been penned by one who has not made dogmatic theology his study, but has tried to "get it up" for the occasion; and that, like the results of most such attempts, it is neither very correct nor very profound.'

In our last number we gave Mr. Forbes due praise for frankness, and he does not seem likely to discredit our eulogy. We are not particularly anxious to remove from his mind the impression so frankly avowed: especially since we understand that it is an impression very commonly produced upon him by the

perusal of any article or pamphlet which is not conformed to his own opinions. But with the readers of the *Christian Remembrancer* the case is far different. They have a right to know whether the editor entrusts these delicate and difficult questions to writers who are previously unacquainted with the very first principles of dogmatical theology, and try 'to get it up' for the occasion.

It is true that knowledge and ignorance are but relative. The reviewer is sadly conscious of ignorance. He may be very unfit to be a contributor to any periodical under the control of the editor of the *Panoply*, and there is very much (in all seriousness, and in no spirit of mock modesty is it said) in which he would most gladly learn from that editor's stores of thought and learning. But he feels compelled to study in a free spirit the pages of an author so defiant. A writer who accuses Dr. Pusey of distorting the fathers; Mr. Keble of a Sabellian expression; Mr. Cheyne of getting up the Liturgies for the occasion of his trial; the author of a 'Modest Reply to Mr. Shaw,' of having nothing modest excepting in his title; a Scottish bishop of worse than Arian profaneness of language;¹ and our insignificant selves of extemporizing studies to which we have given up many years, must be read, and ought to be read, with very considerable watchfulness and circumspection. *Cautè legendum* should, in such a case, be constantly impressed upon the mental eye.²

¹ Every one of these expressions, or at least expressions tantamount to them, have occurred in the *Panoply* within the last two years.

² The point at issue between Mr. Keble and the *Panoplist* is so important as to call for special remark. Mr. Keble had said (Euchar. Adoration, p. 56.) 'the true, real, primary object of worship must of course be some person, and that person the Most High God.' Upon which the *Panoplist* (June, 1858, p. 274) observes. 'We entirely object to the word which we have italicised, which is simply Sabellian. It is of course an oversight, &c.'

We believe that the oversight is entirely on Mr. Forbes's side. If we are right it is a very serious error: an error which vitiates whole trains of thought in the *Panoply*, and which if detected by G. H. F. in another writer, would be immediately declared to be the work of one who had 'not made dogmatical theology his study, but had tried to get it up for the occasion.'

If Mr. Keble's expression be Sabellian, we invite our brother students of dogmatical theology (for we really have studied it, if they will but believe us) to consider the propriety of the following expressions. 'S. Mary is the mother of a person, and that person the Most High God.' (The solemn anathema of the Council of Ephesus may make us pause before we call this language Sabellian. 'If any man confesseth not that Emmanuel is truly God, and consequently the Holy Virgin the God-bearer, for she bore after the flesh the Incarnate Word from God, let him be anathema.' Εἰ τις οὐχ ἀμολογεῖ Θεὸν εἶναι κατ' ἀλήθειαν τὸν Ἐμμανουὴλ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο θεοτόκον τὴν ἡγεμόνην γὰρ σαρκικῶς σάρκα γεγονότα τὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ λόγον ἀνέβεια ξέστω. Canon I. S. Cyr. Alex. ad Nest. Synod. Epist.) 'The proto-martyr died, calling on a person, and that person the Most High God.' (Acts vii. 59.) 'The church of God has been purchased by the blood of a person, and that person the Most High God.' (See Acts xx. 28, if, as is most probable, the common reading is the true one.)

[Now

(5.) Besides the charge, adduced in the clause which we italicise in the following paragraph, there is, we presume, an implied accusation of irreverence.

'I ought also to mention, that in copying it I have taken the liberty of always marking with capital letters the pronouns which refer to the Most High. This was a practice introduced in the early stages of the Oxford Movement, as an indication of the deep reverence due to God. It has scarcely been adopted at all by the Romanists, who pay such worship to the saints, and especially the Blessed Virgin, as practically to obliterate the difference between the Creator and the creature. And it is a significant indication of the divergence of this new school from the old Tractarian teaching, that the reviewer seems to employ small letters as often as capitals when speaking of the Almighty.'

Let us first say a word upon the facts of the case. The reviewer has taken the greatest pains to mark with capitals the personal pronouns, *He, Himself*, whenever they refer to the Most High; *nor is there, we believe, a single instance throughout the 47 pages of his critique in which he has failed to do so.* He has certainly been less careful with the possessive pronouns. This has probably arisen originally from a fear of laying too much stress on these (comparatively) subordinate pronouns in those numerous passages of the New Testament where they are implied only, and not expressed in the original. (The five clergymen, among whom are men of the most reverential frame of mind, as Dr. Barrow, Dr. Moberly, and Mr. Ellicott, decided, with some hesitation, against the use of capitals in their version of S. John,) Mr. Forbes' plan is probably the better: but we think that foot-note might have sufficed him on this point, and that it might also have been more charitably worded.

As for our assumed 'divergence from the old Tractarian teaching,' we can only say that we are quite unconscious of it.

We did indeed once hear a clergyman say that he hardly looked upon Dr. Pusey as a 'Puseyite'; but we, nevertheless, supposed that the revered professor was popularly regarded as something of the kind, and as one of the authors of the 'old Tractarian teaching.' Now amongst the many *lacunæ* in the writer's cycle of knowledge, when he last wrote in this Review, must be reckoned his ignorance of Dr. Pusey's large volume on the *Doctrine of the Real Presence*, with which he had only the most cursory and limited acquaintance. And yet the remarks

Now unless these expression are all Sabellian, the Panoplist's objection to that of Mr. Keble is fatally unsound and dangerous, and at variance with the very first principles of dogmatic theology. How far it is on the road to Nestorianism, let others judge. Of course, objecting to Mr. Keble's expression, he objects to the subsequent reasoning, founded upon it: and *the very same error* has led him (*Panoply*, July, 1858, p. 297) to accuse a Scotch Bishop of worse than Arian profanity of language.

of the learned doctor (whom not even G. H. F. will accuse of having got up his theology for the occasion) upon the terms *signs* and *antitypes*, and on the word *become*, do exhibit (we are thankful to find, though we had never studied those portions of the book), a most remarkable coincidence and agreement with the results at which we had arrived by independent thought and study.

(6.) We are now approaching the one point on which our challenge has been met; namely, that of passages from the Fathers. And here for one moment let us take breath, and refresh ourselves with the thought of something at least in common between our assailant and ourselves. We both happily agree in repudiating that miserable and uncatholic principle which was laid down in the Synod of Aberdeen, of confining the parties to post-Reformation formularies, and divines; a principle which in itself was enough to justify Mr. Cheyne in refusing to plead before the Court in which it was affirmed. In the last October Number of this Review we followed in the wake of Mr. Keble and Mr. Cheyne in protesting against this monstrous restriction. And amidst many losses and discouragements, yet, step by step, is something continually gained. For who is there now in Scotland who will venture to come forward and defend this rule? Not the Upper Court, which at once and without hesitation ignored it; not the learned defender of that Court's decision, Mr. G. H. Forbes; not even the apologist for the proceedings of that remarkable synod at Aberdeen, the Rev. Mr. Walker of Monymusk, who does not, in his recent pamphlet, attempt to say one word in its defence. For the sake of all the churches of the Anglican Communion, may it henceforth rest in peace, and never be woken to life again!

Mr. Forbes, after totally ignoring, as we have seen, the passages quoted by us from Holy Scripture, says that we have brought forward no arguments to prove our position (texts of Scripture and the language of the English Prayer-book¹ not apparently being considered arguments), except the patristic passages quoted from Mr. Keble's *Considerations*. These passages, he admits, prove 'that it is lawful to say that Christ is offered and received in the Holy Eucharist'; 'a phraseology,' he adds, 'which is admitted on all hands.'

We submit, in passing, that the passages in question, taken collectively, either prove nothing whatever, or else prove a great deal more than Mr. Forbes is willing to admit. Such

¹ 'God hath given His Son our Saviour Jesus Christ, not only to die for us, but also to be our spiritual food and sustenance in that holy sacrament.' Twice referred to in our late article, but always ignored by the Bishop of S. Andrew's and G. H. F.

words as that of S. Ambrose: ‘Where His Body is, there is Christ,’ surely make decisively for the position which we are attempting to prove. And here we must again express a wish that Mr. Forbes would take the trouble when he quotes our statements to give them as we wrote them. It can hardly be expected that ordinary readers will be at the pains to look back, or indeed perceive that this is a condensed quotation, and the impression made upon the mind by the two following statements is assuredly by no means identical:—

Proposition as stated by us.

‘By consecration is primarily wrought, through the agency of the same Holy Spirit, the presence of the body and blood of Christ, and then, *as a consequence*, the presence of whole Christ, in His sacred and indivisible personality, as God and Man.’

Proposition as quoted by G. H. F.

‘By consecration is wrought the presence of the whole Christ, in His sacred and undivided personality, as God and Man.’

In fact, our position is that the presence of Christ’s person in the Holy Eucharist is *not* wrought *directly* by consecration, but only *indirectly*, as an ulterior consequence. Now no one would gather this from a re-quotation, in which words and clauses are arbitrarily omitted, without the slightest sign of such omission.

To return to these passages from the Fathers. How does G. H. F. attempt to get over the very remarkable admission which he makes respecting the lawfulness of saying that ‘Christ is offered and received in the Holy Eucharist’?

To our great regret he attempts to employ the same mode of escape, which the Bishop of S. Andrew’s tried to employ when pressed with the language of S. John iv. 57 (‘He that eateth Me,’ &c.) The language of the Fathers is ‘a form of speech,’ the particular ‘form’ meant, being the figure known by classical scholars as *synecdoche*.

We may apply this figure, says G. H. F., to the passages of the Fathers, because we *must* apply the same, or a similar ‘form of speech’ to the Creed itself. Where we *must* apply it to the Creed is supposed to be shown by the very instances adduced by the Reviewer:—

‘He reminds us that we may say, “Christ was buried;” “God the Son went into Hades;” and I ask, do these phrases really mean that there was a “presence of whole Christ in His sacred and indivisible personality, as God and Man,” both in the sepulchre and in Hades? Was His Soul in the grave? Was His Body among the spirits in prison?’

The last two questions, which we have italicised, were answered by anticipation in the following paragraph from our late article. (We must again very sincerely apologise for such

constant repetition of our own words, but it becomes really, under present circumstances, all but unavoidable.)

'The personality of Christ our Lord resides in His Godhead ; and the Godhead, being impassible, could not die. But as it remained alike with His body and soul, God the Son did die for man, and was buried, in the body ; while God the Son, in the Spirit, went into Hades. This is the language of Holy Scripture and the Catholic Church.'

But this language, says G. H. F., is a 'form of speech.' Most absolutely and entirely do we deny the truth of this assertion, which we believe to be as novel as it is dangerous. And very earnestly do we entreat even those who are most opposed to the general tenour of our views, to pause before they take their stand upon ground which, like the seemingly solid island in the Arabian tale, may start into an unlooked-for form of life beneath their feet, and begin to float away and carry them, they know not whither. Let them at least listen here to what we venture to urge upon their consideration, even if they turn a deaf ear to all besides.

When, in the pages of Holy Scripture, or of the Catholic Creeds, or of the great Doctors of the Church, we read of Christ, we always understand, without exception, that we are reading of the person of God the Son. And further, we understand that we are reading of Him, as perfect God and perfect Man, having two whole natures conjoined in one person ; *unless* (as in the case of His presence in Hades and in the Sepulchre) *the absence of any portion of His perfect Manhood be distinctly specified*. But even then the All-hallowed Name is subject to no 'form of speech.' It is not a 'form of speech' to say, 'Christ lay in the grave ;' for God the Son was really, truly, literally there, in that the Godhead, wherein (as Mr. Forbes admits) His personality resides, never left His sacred body. It is no 'form of speech' to say 'Christ was present in Hades ;' He was really, truly, literally there, forasmuch as the Godhead never left His severed Spirit. God the Son (mysterious it is, but true) was present at the same time in either place.

No ! we *must not* apply a 'form of speech' to the Creed ; and again we say, let us think well before we apply it to the language of Holy Scripture or of the ancient Fathers. The difference between the two cases will easily be seen. To say that Christ was present in Hades or the tomb, is not a 'form of speech,' because in each place God the Son was present ; to say that 'Christ is offered and received in the Holy Eucharist,' is, on G. H. F.'s principles, a 'form of speech,' because according to him God the Son is not really present.

We must observe, in passing, how very singular on these

principles is the interpretation applied to the language of the English Prayer-book. ‘It is our duty to render most humble and hearty thanks to Almighty God our heavenly Father, for that He hath given His Son our Saviour Jesus Christ, not only to die for us, but also to be our spiritual food and sustenance in that holy Sacrament.’

The Bishop of S. Andrew’s seems to us to have momentarily overlooked these words in the English Prayer-book, when he uttered (Opinion, p. 33) the sweeping assertion that ‘our Church does not presume to say, nor does she anywhere afford the least ground for the assertion on the part of others, that whole Christ is given, taken, and eaten in the Eucharist;’ and G. H. F. must, we imagine, have equally forgotten these words of Bishop Wordsworth, when he averred that ‘the Fathers use this phraseology, which is admitted on all hands.’ How strangely forced, though, is the interpretation thus placed upon the Church’s words. In one and the same breath, she is supposed (on G. H. F.’s principles) to teach her children to thank God because Christ died for us (really and literally), and because He is our spiritual food after ‘a form of speech.’

But to proceed. Mr. Forbes is conscious, that, even if his argument from the Creed were sound (instead of being, as we believe, most hollow and perilous, involving, at the very least, in his own words, *a great risk*), he would only have advanced his cause a single step.

‘But this is not enough. *May* is not *must*. Do the Fathers supply no evidence to enable us to go further than mere permission, and to answer the challenge of the reviewer “to produce one such passage from the entire range of writings of the ancient Fathers?”

‘If your readers will turn to some of my recent papers in the *Panoply*, or, better still, to Johnson’s *Unbloody Sacrifice*, they will find not merely one, but many such passages.

‘I must not occupy your space by quoting them over again; but with regard to the soul of Christ, I would refer to that very express one in which S. Gregory Nyssene says that the body of the victim was not fit for being eaten until it was slain; and with regard to the Godhead to that of Theodорite, where he asks—Of what the things consecrated are types—of His Godhead, or of His Body and Blood? answering unhesitatingly that it was the latter; and to the indignant denial of his rival, S. Cyril of Alexandria, that the Godhead was eaten.’

It would demand much more space than we can spare to discuss the meanings of passages quoted in Johnson’s very considerable work, nor should we feel sure, after all, that we had lighted upon those intended by our critic. But in his allusion to the papers in the *Panoply*, he unconsciously does both himself and us something less than justice.

We are not in the habit, when we take part in controversy at

all, of reading one side only. Far as we are from being disciples of Mr. John Stuart Mill, we yet believe that he is at least partially right when he says in his new work on *Liberty* (p. 39):—‘In the case of any person whose judgment is really ‘deserving of confidence, how has it become so? Because he ‘has kept his mind open to criticism of his opinions and ‘conduct.’ On this principle we read all the current Numbers of the *Panoply*, before ever we put forth our challenge; and we really hope (it is not saying much) that we perused Mr. Forbes’ pages with more care and attention than he has thought it worth his while to bestow on ours.

There is, we fear, some real twist, so to speak, in the mind of one of us (let others judge on which side it lies), which prevents us from seeing things in the same way. We did *not* find in any Number of the *Panoply* one single patristic passage which, in our poor judgment, spoke of the body of Christ (naturally or sacramentally present) ‘in such wise as to exclude ‘the presence of the person of Christ.’

An illustration of our meaning in making this challenge was given in our last Number (note, p. 178). The point is so important, that it may bear repetition and expansion.

We, children of the Church, challenge Socinians to adduce passages from Holy Writ which assert the Humanity of our Redeemer in such wise as to exclude the co-existence of His Divinity. Now, it is no reply on the part of the Socinian, to adduce the numberless texts of Scripture which speak of our Lord as very and perfect Man; for this is a truth acknowledged by the Church as fully as it can possibly be by the mis-believer.

Without wishing for one moment to insinuate any offensive analogy, we must observe that it is a similarly inefficient reply to our challenge, to bring forward any passages from the writings of ancient Fathers which simply speak of the presence of our Lord’s body and blood in the Holy Eucharist. Look again at the English Prayer-book. The Catechism teaches that ‘the ‘Body and Blood of Christ are verily and indeed taken and re- ‘ceived by the faithful in the Lord’s Supper;’ while the notice for the celebration of the Holy Communion says, that God ‘hath given His Son our Saviour Jesus Christ, to be our ‘spiritual food and sustenance in that holy sacrament.’ If the former of these statements does not in anywise clash with or exclude the latter, neither need similar statements be in the slightest degree inconsistent when found in different places of the Fathers.

Without the slightest consciousness of anything like subterfuge or special pleading, we avow our acceptance of the teaching of those ancient doctors to whom Mr. Forbes refers in the

above extract ; but we are unable to perceive how such acceptance can militate against aught that we have advanced.

With S. Cyril of Alexandria, we would deny that the Godhead can suffer, or die, or be eaten ; while yet we affirm, that He who is God, the Eternal Word, did condescend to suffer and to die, and does still condescend to become ‘our spiritual food and sustenance in that holy sacrament.’ In well-known words it is *carnem animæ non ventris*, that we seek.

With Theodoret, we would affirm unhesitatingly, that the things consecrated, the bread and wine, are *outwardly* types, not assuredly of the Godhead, but of the Body and Blood of Christ our Lord. The consecration, we repeat, makes them *primarily* no more than this ; the presence of the person of our Lord God, the Saviour, being an ulterior consequence. With that marvellous fitness which pervades the whole typology of Scripture, the bread and wine may (we trust without irreverence) be regarded as peculiarly suited for their respective offices of sacred emblems of the all-holy Body and Blood ; while we should expect to find the type of the Godhead something more ethereal and permeating, as is witnessed, for example, by that oft-repeated similitude, which compares the Eternal to the first-wrought of creation, Light.

With S. Gregory of Nyssa, we would assert, that the body of the victim was not fit for being eaten until it was slain. Doubtless a profound mystery, how the spiritual presence of our living and glorified Lord can co-exist with the sacrificial character of the rite ; but not one whit more mysterious, more difficult and profound (as has been pointed out again and again by our own divines, from Bishop Jeremy Taylor to Mr. Keble) than the vision of the Ritual in Heaven, as witnessed by the seer of Patmos. If that sublime and crowning service in the celestial courts (offered as it is by our great High Priest, ‘who ever liveth’) in some mystical manner exhibits ‘a lamb standing as slain—ἀρνέος ἐστηκὼς ὡς ἐσφαγμένον’ (Apoc. v. 6) ; why may not our lowlier liturgy admit of a similarly mysterious combination ?

Mr. Forbes proceeds to assert with respect to S. Cyril :—

‘ But indeed it is quite unnecessary to quote particular passages from this last Father, so much dwelt upon by Dr. Pusey some years ago ; for the whole tenor of his argument against Nestorius is quite irreconcileable with Mr. Cheyne’s teaching. S. Cyril devotes page after page to show that, in consequence of the close personal union between the two natures in Christ, His body has acquired several of the powers of His Godhead, and therefore that His body *also* can give life. But if this new theology had then been held, how easily might Nestorius have turned round upon him, and said, “ I fully admit the life-giving power of the Holy Eucharist, but that proves nothing as to the prerogatives of our Saviour’s body. His Godhead is also

there; and no wonder that It effects all the blessed results which Christians agree in ascribing to this sacrament.”¹

Nestorius was not heretical or unsound on every article of the faith. He had begun his unhappy career by a display of the utmost energy and vehemence against heretics (certainly an awful warning to us all, no less than the fall of the stern Tertullian, against undue vehemence, even in defence of what we firmly hold for truth); and even his degree of error was surely short of proceeding to the extreme length of denying all prerogatives of the Saviour’s Body gained from the Godhead, as even his false theory about the Baptism in Jordan might suggest. The exact limit between the powers of our Lord’s sinless humanity and those acquired by the union of the two natures in Him, is one of the most difficult points in theology; one on which good and wise men may, in a measure, differ without heresy. But unless Mr. Cheyne, or any of his defenders, have denied what is implied throughout the whole of S. John’s sixth chapter—namely, that Christ’s Body is life-giving—we cannot allow that they are condemned by the reasoning of S. Cyril, or by the silence, on this head, of his heretical adversary.

We wish, indeed, that we had space and time to translate some of the noble passages of S. Cyril’s Synodical Epistle to Nestorius, now lying open before us. Our own real difficulty is, as we have virtually shown in a previous note, to reconcile its teaching, not with that of Mr. Cheyne, but with that of Mr. G. H. Forbes in the *Panoply*. Strongly and justly as S. Cyril speaks of the Godhead rendering the Saviour’s flesh life-giving (*ζωὴ γὰρ ὁν κατὰ φύσιν ὡς Θεός, ἐπειδὴ γέγονεν ἐν πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σάρκα, ζωοποιὸν ἀπέφηνεν αὐτήν*), he yet takes especial care to remind us also, in the very last words of those Ephesine Canons appended to his letter, that Christ is, primarily, ‘life and life-giving as God.’ (*καθ’ ὁ ζωὴ τέ ἔστι καὶ ζωοποιὸς ὡς Θεός.*)

(7.) The Reviewer’s evasion of the argument from the early Liturgies:—

‘I must call attention to the way in which he evades the argument from the early Liturgies. It is difficult to exaggerate the importance of these documents in their bearing on the present question. Mr. Cheyne felt this, and devoted no small part of his ‘Reasons’ to a consideration of their structure and of the evidence which they give as to the present controversy.’

Exactly so. Mr. Cheyne had undertaken this part of the task so fully, that we felt the less called upon to go into details which, as we informed our readers, might be purchased for the moderate sum of one shilling.¹ *Non omnia possumus omnes.* No

¹ Masters, London, &c.—We called it a *quarto*, which was, we believe, the original shape of the document: it is now issued in octavo.

reviewers can, in a single article, so much as attempt to handle every aspect of so vast a subject. Moreover, the writer was sensible that on this part of the question he was less versed, and had still very much to learn.

But this consciousness, it may be said, is a bar to the formation of an *opinion* at all. It would not be wise for the defenders of the recent decision, to press such a sentiment as this. The virtual author of the final judgment candidly (as we hear) avows respecting the ancient Liturgies:—‘I do not profess myself to have devoted to them any very deep or extensive study.’

It is true, that common report, supported by very strong internal evidence, represents the author of the ‘Opinion’ as trusting much to the aid of Mr. Forbes himself. But, then, we must respectfully plead our equal right of taking counsel with other living students of the Liturgies. Mr. Forbes will not for a moment claim to be the only teacher in this department of theology. Our readers have doubtless heard the names of Mr. Palmer, Mr. Neale, Mr. Freeman, and Mr. Bright. Now, these gentlemen are independent students and thinkers, by no means bound to the support of each other’s conclusions. But on one point they are certainly all agreed, and that is, that the ancient Liturgies cannot possibly be made to bear that construction which is placed upon them by the Reverend G. H. Forbes.

On the other hand, how many *independent* students of the Liturgies can be named, who are prepared to assert that these invaluable documents teach the theory of equivalence? We really, for our part, know of one only, and that one is Mr. Forbes himself.

8. On the question of the Sacrifice, our assailant seems to us to be somewhat unduly exacting. The view of its nature is mainly a corollary from the view taken of the nature of the Presence. While we disagree on the one, we must also (unhappily) disagree upon the other. We gave our readers a lengthy and striking extract from Bishop Taylor’s ‘Life of Christ.’ Mr. Forbes is pleased entirely to ignore this passage from a famous divine, and demands, with extraordinary *naïveté*, what is the matter? It seems to be not of the slightest importance to his mind, that Mr. Cheyne should be deprived of the exercise of his priestly functions in the diocese of Aberdeen, for saying what Bishop Jeremy Taylor said without condemnation, or even censure. But there are others who are quite unable to sympathise with Mr. Forbes’ feelings of thankfulness for this decision, and with whom it raises very serious misgivings as to the future inter-communion between the English and Scottish Episcopal Communions if this decision be universally carried out in all its bearings.

In Scotland, even, a protest against the theory of a virtual Presence seems in danger of being stigmatised as undutiful, rebellious, and not to be endured. Now, we do not know of any works which contain more vigorous protests against this theory, than Mr. Palmer's 'Treatise on the Church,' and Mr. Freeman's 'Principles of Divine Service.'¹ Are these respected writers, therefore, in any way proscribed? are they objects of episcopal censure in English dioceses? On the contrary, two prelates (one deceased, one happily still living) have, to their honour be it said, most deservedly rewarded both authors for their respective works, by the bestowal of posts of authority and trust.

We quoted, in our last Number, Mr. Freeman's summing up of the liturgical evidence as bearing on the point at issue. G. H. F. is pleased to call it—'a rhetorical passage from the sermons of an eminent living divine.' This is one of the numerous indications that Mr. Forbes has written *currente calamo*, as hastily, we suspect, as he has read our pages.

Our readers are probably aware, that we did not quote from the *sermons* of any divine, living or dead. We cited a grave treatise, written expressly on the points at issue; a treatise which Mr. Forbes himself is very glad to quote, whenever it makes in favour of his views. These, of course, are little slips of the pen, which we are all liable to make in turn, after detecting them in others.

'Cœdimus, inque vicem præbemus crura sagittis.'

They may be turned to good service if they teach us each to be lenient *in minimis*. We must observe, however, that we cannot allow Mr. Freeman's language to be *rhetorical*, in any bad sense of the word. It is vigorous and nervous, as his statements usually are; but it is based upon calm and careful arguments, though we were unable to find room for those arguments.

A few words more, and we shall part company with our critic and his animadversions. We do not follow him into the

¹ We are quite aware that on one or more of the consequences drawn by Mr. Cheyne from the doctrine of the Real Presence, the learned authors referred to are at issue with his teaching and deem it to be erroneous; but this involves no acceptance on their part of the theory of a Virtual Presence and Real Absence (which is the point now mainly under consideration). The theory of the Panoplist (more or less countenanced in the 'Opinion' of Bp. Wordsworth) is entirely different from the teaching, not only of the *highest* school of the old English divines, but also from that of Hooker, whose teaching has received such widespread acceptance among the old school of English High-Churchmen. England would need to learn a new theology before she can accept the truly startling teaching of the latest No. of the *Panoply* (p. 371): 'THE THEORY OF SACRIFICE FORBIDS US TO ADOPT TRANSUBSTANTIATION, OR ANY OTHER VIEW OF THE REAL PRESENCE.'

question of what is received by the wicked in the Holy Eucharist; partly because, though a solemn and deep one, it is not one of the original points at issue between us and the Bishop of S. Andrew's (for we meant to confine our remarks throughout to the case of faithful recipients), and partly because we trust that, *practically*, there is on this head less difference between us and Mr. Forbes than might at the first sight appear.

But we may seem bound to afford a little more explanation upon the *vexata quæstio* of the Sacrifice; albeit, G. H. F.'s demands do not appear to be very reasonable. The view taken of the Sacrifice depends, as we have already said, upon the doctrine which is held touching the nature of our Lord's presence in the Holy Eucharist. And we do, in all soberness, consider it *a very ghastly and distorted phantom* of the true doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice, when we are told that its logical consequence (*Opinion*, p. 26) is, that our Blessed Lord must needs suffer again; just as we should consider it *a very ghastly and distorted phantom* of the patristic teaching concerning the Resurrection, and S. John's account of the entry through the closed doors, if we were told (as with precisely equal justice we might be told) that such a passage must have involved extreme suffering.

Moreover, we generally assume that the readers of the *Christian Remembrancer* do not wholly confine their studies to its pages. We thought that, at any rate in Scotland, they might know that the Bishop of Brechin, as well as the Bishop of S. Andrew's, had delivered an *Opinion* on the Aberdeen Appeal; nay, that those who took deep interest in the question might even go to the length of purchasing it, and thus be able to study it at their leisure. Amidst much else that is very valuable on this head, the Bishop of Brechin most justly speaks (p. 11) of the Eucharistic Sacrifice, as 'a Sacrifice of Christ 'distinct in the manner of offering from that on the cross,—distinct both as not meriting any more, and as not accompanied by suffering;' and in the following page he adds,—'We might have rejoiced if Mr. Cheyne had brought out more prominently the distinction of the manner of offering as not meriting any more; in other words, that while the Sacrifice is continuous, the satisfaction, properly so called, is not so.'

Now, the above brief quotations may serve to indicate the points whereon the Bishop of S. Andrew's appears to us to have so utterly mistaken the real nature of the tenets he condemns. The passage of Bishop Jeremy Taylor might at least have saved him from the former mistake ('His body . . . is now broken again, and yet remains impassible'), or, more probably, from both mistakes. To imagine that the *satisfaction*

made on the cross was incomplete and is now continuous, is ‘*a ghastly and distorted phantom*’ of the true doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice, and would deserve the energy of denunciation with which the Bishop of S. Andrew’s assailed it.

As for the question,—why did Mr. Cheyne not volunteer any explanations?—it is not for us to answer it. But, if G. H. F. really believes that the Court, in November,¹ held out hope to the appellant that it would be in a favourable mood to listen to explanations of any kind whatever in December, we assure him that persons quite as impartial as he can possibly be, and possessed of as adequate means of forming an opinion, have arrived at a very different conclusion.

We have done: and must again express our sincere regret at having been compelled to take the field against one, for whose character and learned labours we feel a most sincere respect. Readers unacquainted with his writings may be assured that this letter is no fair specimen of Mr. Forbes’ powers. If another argumentative defence of the Scotch judgment (we say *argumentative*, for America sends, we fear, very little beyond declamation) is to appear, we cannot but express a hope that it may come from some more independent authority. The person, not upon the bench, nor concerned in the pleadings, who is probably most responsible for the Judgment, is Mr. G. H. Forbes himself. Now, whatever claim to respect may be justly made on behalf of persons whose advice has been sought beforehand, they cannot afterwards be regarded as independent witnesses to the value of a decision for which they pleaded, or which they advised.

Not, we trust, in a spirit of invidiousness, or from the miserable vanity of desiring a mere triumph of this Review over an assailant, but for the sake of the cause for which we plead, may we be permitted to remind our readers of the large portion of our late critique which has been left *entirely* unassailed.

The challenge on the witness of Holy Scripture and post-Reformation divines; the argument from the term *Image* as

¹ It must be borne in mind that the alternative presented to Mr. Cheyne in November was that of ‘retraction,’ a word which usually bears the sense of *stating the opposite*, and confessing grievous error. We find, from the Scottish journals, the offensive sense ascribed to that word, in reference to certain proceedings in the Highland Society, and the very different and more kindly sense affixed to the word ‘withdraw.’ The substitution of the former word for the latter gave rise to one of the largest meetings of the nobility and gentry ever of late years assembled in Edinburgh, and certainly one of the most stormy. The feelings of a Christian Presbyter are at least as keen as those of an agricultural official.

applied to our blessed Lord; the argument from Bishop Wordsworth's own teaching so lately as 1855; the refusal to answer the legitimate question of the appellant on the Sacrifice; the patristic doctrine (once, we believe, taught by Mr. G. H. Forbes himself) that Christ is the primary Offerer in the Holy Eucharist; the annihilation of all sacrificial teaching in England if the rule of silence be too closely pressed; the ignoring of the English Office in the reception of our Lord's entire person; the impossibility of believing that Bishop Andrewes employed in one sense words which he *knew* his opponent to be employing in another; the force of the Pauline expression, *a spiritual body*, with all that involves; the striking teaching of Bishop Jeremy Taylor; the absence of all distinctively Roman arguments; the vigorous language of Luther against Zwinglius; the Calvinistic tendency of the virtual theory; the assertion of the presence of our Lord being in the substance of His Godhead *only*; the novel historic theory about A.D. 662; the opinion of impartial bystanders on the legal part of the question; the incompatibility of the 'Opinion' with Hooker's manifesto on the points 'wherein all agree,'—these and other points (are they light and trivial ones?) are all left by Mr. G. H. Forbes for the labours of some fresh assailant.

We had intended to have offered some remarks upon the leading article of the February Number of the *Scottish Ecclesiastical Journal*, and the general posture of Church matters in Scotland. But we have nearly exhausted our own space, and but too probably the patience of our readers.

One point, however, demands at least a passing notice. *At the very time* when all who do not accept the 'Opinion' of the Bishop of S. Andrew's are characterised as undutiful malcontents, and held up to the severest reprobation,—when any expression of sympathy on their behalf from the southern bank of the Tweed is regarded as intrusive,—when to circulate a reprint from our pages, if it does not coincide with the 'Opinion' of the Bishop of the diocese, is regarded as an incitement to 'despise dominion,' we find our contemporary, the *Scottish Ecclesiastical Journal*, urging the claims of the Anglo-Continental Association;¹ and the latest and final number of the *Panoply* contains the following:—

¹ We are not sanguine enough to believe that there are many (if any) of the Continental Bishops who would sanction the circulation of the publications of that Society; and yet while acknowledging the catholicity of the Latin and Oriental Churches, and the authority of their Episcopate, such publications are circulated for the avowed purpose of opening the eyes of their people to the unsound teaching of their pastors, in order that they may, by personal protest, clear themselves from really or seemingly acquiescing in what they are assured is 'unscriptural and

'The earnest sympathy with which we look upon the struggles of the Gallican party abroad, makes us unwilling to close our own periodical without again recommending to our theological readers the Paris bi-monthly paper, the *Observateur Catholique*. It has of late been giving a most crushing exposure of the arguments and authorities (if they deserve the names) relied on in favour of the Immaculate Conception; and another series of articles upon Liturgies, which (if not satisfactorily answered) must lead to a considerably lower estimate than has lately been current, of the merits of Dom Gueranger.'

We shall leave it to our readers to point the moral.

One explanation we desire to offer in conclusion. We did not intend (as some have strangely imagined) the slightest personality by the use of the term *latrones* in the famous sentiment with which we concluded. We spoke of abstract truth, abstract false argumentation, abstract terrorism. The last-named is at this moment more rampant, perhaps, than ever in Scotland. For the moment, in a manner, it succeeds; but such influences cannot last for ever. We do not yet despair of seeing peace reign once more, without any abandonment of holy truth.

unprimitive.' Has the majority of the Scottish Episcopate an *immunity* from even temporary deflection from ancient truth which five venerable patriarchal thrones are held more or less to have forfeited? Nor can it have passed from the memory of our readers how many of the Presbyters and laity of the Church of England entered a protest against the Gorham decision, which had received the entire sanction of two Metropolitans.

ART. VIII.—Η ΠΑΛΑΙΗ ΚΑΙ Η ΚΑΙΝΗ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ. *Vetus et Novum Testamentum Graece ex antiquissimo Codice Vaticano. Edidit ANGELUS MAIUS, S.R.E. Cardinalis. Romæ: 1857.*¹

Remains of a very Ancient Recension of the Four Gospels in Syriac, hitherto unknown in Europe. Discovered, edited, and translated, by WILLIAM CURETON, D.D., F.R.S., &c. &c. London: 1858.

An exact transcript of the Codex Augiensis, a Graeco-Latin Manuscript of S. Paul's Epistles, deposited in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge; to which is added a full Collection of Fifty Manuscripts, containing portions of the Greek New Testament, &c. With a Critical Introduction by the Rev. FREDERICK HENRY SCRIVENER, M.A. &c. Cambridge: 1859.

THE last twelve months have been a remarkable period in the history of New Testament criticism, from the publication of three most important documents bearing on the Sacred Text. The Vatican MS., the most ancient extant copy of any portion of the Scriptures, yet containing almost complete the whole of the Old and New Testaments, is an unrivalled monument of Christian antiquity; for it was written, as critics are fairly agreed, in the middle, at least, of the fourth century. It is a Bible of the time of S. Athanasius; it is earlier than the prime days of Basil, and the Gregories, and Chrysostom. It represents to us, to say the least, a text of the Holy Scriptures, such as was actually circulated in that age. The publication of the New Testament portion of the MS. has long been the great desideratum of critical students. It has been guarded in the Library of the Vatican with a jealous caution, which of late years has kept it from all but the most cursory inspection; and the scholar deemed himself happy who could discern what its reading was in some much disputed passage as he turned over its leaves. The fragments of the Syriac Gospels, published from the Nitrian MSS. in the Museum, are of almost equal antiquity, and 'of a recension hitherto unknown in Western Europe'; they present the text of a version actually extant in those days, full of curious characteristics; yet by its agreement with divers other ancient documents, sometimes with one,

¹ Though the edition bears 1857 on the title-page, it was not published till about this time last year.

sometimes with another, in instances where they stood almost alone, as well as by its own remarkable peculiarities, a most important witness to a possible condition of the Sacred Text in an early age. The Codex Augiensis is later by some centuries: but it is very valuable, both as to its Greek and Latin text, and the admirable manner in which it has been transcribed and edited by Mr. Scrivener, makes it a treasure to those who wish to see what a MS. of the New Testament is, with all its peculiarities of readings and orthography.

The publication of the two former texts has created an interest in the subject of textual criticism, such as we have never before witnessed; and we are persuaded that an actual examination of the facts bearing on the subject, will be a great advantage, by dissipating vague notions on the *importance* of the variations in text resulting from the examination of ancient documents, and by drawing with more and more assurance the line of distinction between the certain and the uncertain.

Let us never forget, however, the very subordinate position of this branch of sacred literature. It does but minister in a very humble degree to theology, whose proper work is the knowledge and contemplation of the truths themselves that were revealed by Christ and His Apostles, not a microscopic investigation of the documents containing them; for those truths really remain the same, with their evidence from Holy Scripture substantially unimpaired, even if the ancient readings which depart most widely from those to which we are accustomed were established. We need not fear, if we remember that these readings were certainly among those commonly received, when the greatest luminaries of the Christian Church unfolded and defended the most sacred doctrines of our faith. What the Fathers, Greek and Latin, from Athanasius to Augustin, read in their Gospels and Epistles, is what we should most wish to have in ours. And an investigation of the subject will bring us to the conviction that in those days there were variations of copies beyond anything we are familiar with; and that in many instances neither we nor they could affirm with any certainty which was the right reading. We proceed to speak of each of these works separately. We may by the way briefly point out some of the chief principles elicited by the consideration of them.

And first, of the publication of the Vatican MS. We are grateful for it. We owe too large a debt of gratitude to the eminent man through whom its publication was effected, to be forgetful of his services in our observations on it. No one probably ever did so much for the publication of works previously extant only in MSS., as Angelo Mai. From the publication of the lost work of Cicero, 'De Republica,' down to the close of

his life, he has sent out on an average almost a volume a year—from the MS. treasures of the Vatican and other libraries. To him we owe the lost writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia, very large portions of S. Cyril of Alexandria, S. Gregory Nyssen, and other innumerable writers, both classical and theological. But the very extent of these publications necessitated their being executed by others. He himself could do little more than exercise a general superintendence over them; and, accordingly, as has recently been noticed, in printing, apparently quite indiscriminately, every passage in a *Catena* which bore the name of Cyril, he has published as new, portions of works already well known, and many belonging to other writers and not to S. Cyril.

It is evident that he thus fell into a way of having his work executed roughly. And, in consequence, the clumsy manner in which this edition has been prepared, and the actual result of *errata*, which the published work presents, are beyond all precedent in the history of literature; while, to complete the whole, a preface is written by Vercellone, to whom the publication was committed after Mai's death, which details the whole secret history of the proceeding with a candour, simplicity, and honesty, that do the utmost credit to the straightforwardness of the writer, but which revelation is itself also without precedent.

For thirty years this work has been in hand. And what might have been done by *careful* transcription or preparation of a corrected copy, and a careful reading of the printed proofs with the original, by *competent* scholars, in a quarter of the time, has been thus delayed, owing, among other causes, to the necessity for having the work practically done over again. Perhaps there is not a more remarkable contrast than that which, in this respect, exists between the Roman editing and that of Mr. Scrivener, who states that his transcript of the *Codex Augiensis* had been compared with the original *six times* before it was submitted to the reader.

It seems that Mai had a copy of the Greek Bible (not corrected first by the MS., but) sent to the printer in its original state, and the readings of the MS. introduced as corrections in the proof sheets; a plan necessarily involving hurry in the collation, and delay in the printing. The sheets of the work were first struck off with the text as it stood in these corrected proofs. But, as might naturally be expected, what was thus printed was found replete with errors, and unfit for publication. For, among other confusions, there appeared that which arose from some of the alterations requiring to be made in the text, others inserted in the margin. Instead of the only satisfactory remedy, that of carefully collating *by the eye* the text thus printed and

the original, a person was employed to read the sheets aloud, while the Cardinal, having the Codex before him, corrected the text in his own copy. The consequence was that one hundred pages have had to be cancelled: some of the errata are inserted at the end of each volume: others are corrected by the pen (or by stamping the omitted letter from type, *adhibitis χειρογράφοις*); of which corrections there is a list at the end of the first volume: and others, it is very evident, remain unnoticed.

It is an unfortunate result. Noble looking as the five quarto volumes are, which contain, four the Old, one the New Testament, on the thick paper and in the bold type of the Propaganda, we cannot but the more regret their lamentable inaccuracy. The very importance of the MS. makes it the more a subject of regret.

There can, we suppose, be no doubt that the publication of this precious document, (at least of the New Testament portion,) ought to have been in *fac-simile*, as our two great English MSS., the Alexandrian of the Museum, and the Codex Bezae of Cambridge, were edited in the last century. May it not be hoped, that we shall only have to wait till photography can secure its productions from fading, to have that truest method of representation applied to this unequalled relic of antiquity? Then scholars may examine at their leisure, and with the appliance of the microscope, every place where there is a doubt of the reading, and the question, what is the writing of the original, what of the later hand, may be decided with all but certainty.

Happily, however, there do exist some means of testing the correctness of this edition; of ascertaining to some extent its errors, and of arriving at what is at least a tolerable amount of assurance, as to really *important* readings. These means exist in the collations which had previously been made of the MS. Of these the most valuable is that made by Mico for Dr. Bentley, the original of which is in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge; it was printed (with occasional inaccuracies, it is said,) by Ford, in the Appendix to Woide's edition of the Alexandrian MS., about sixty years ago. Another collation made by Birch, of all the New Testament, except S. Luke and S. John, was printed about the same time; a third, the earliest but least valuable, made a century before by Bartolocci, exists in MS. at Paris. It has been used by recent editors of the Greek Testament. There was also made for Bentley, by Rulotta, an examination of the corrections of the MS. to ascertain what was the original, what the later reading. These were found by Tischendorf in the library of Trinity College.

The results of these collations, as given by Lachmann, were embodied by Ph. Buttmann in a little edition of the New

Testament—Leipsic, 1856—which is a representation of the Text of the Vatican so far as it could be gathered from these collations (with the readings adopted by critical editors subjoined). The advantage we have from Mai's edition may be at once ascertained by comparing these two: *e.g.* Rom. v. 1, Buttmann has ἔχομεν; Mai, correctly, ἔχωμεν by the first hand, ἔχομεν by the second: Rom viii. 11, Buttmann, διὰ τὸν ἐνοικοῦντος αὐτοῦ πνεύματος; Mai, correctly, διὰ τὸ ἐνοικοῦν αὐτοῦ πνεῦμα. We say, correctly, as both these places were looked at by Dr. Tregelles and the reading ascertained. We may add that in Acts xx. 28, τὸν Θεόν was ascertained to be the true reading, by a tracing made in 1818; and after an exact inspection Dr. Tregelles found that Θν was the original writing: there was no trace of alteration. It had been said that κν might have been altered to Θν. See Tregelles' 'Account of the Printed Text of the New Testament,' pp. 156, 231. But all this shows the need of a fac-simile of the MS. being made.¹

It is very much to be regretted that with these means accessible for ascertaining, with an approximation to certainty, the real reading of the MS., Mai's New Testament should have been simply reprinted,² without giving, at least in an Appendix, the variations between his representation of the text, and those of the collators; for though each collation be, as collations *almost necessarily* are, imperfect, their combined result, together with the consideration of the probability that Mai's work-people would have left uncorrected some of the readings of their printed text, would at least show us where there is a doubt as to the correct reading; and where the collators agree against Mai, we must hold them to be right. It is to be added that, in what we must be allowed *pace criticorum* to call *minor points*, Mai has

¹ At the end of Mai's edition is appended a tabular statement of the errors in Birch's collation (which in the Gospels of S. Luke and S. John is Bentley's); but even here there are mistakes; *e.g.* in Acts viii. 33, the word αὐτῷ in the *Textus Receptus* occurs four times. Birch says that in the Vatican MS. the first αὐτῷ is wanting. 'Dicit,' says Mai, 'omiss. αὐτῷ i. loco:' and contradicts him by a simple 'Adest.' By no means. Mai himself has αὐτῷ only three times: so that his own text confirms Birch's statement, that the first αὐτῷ of the *Textus Receptus* is wanting; but carelessly looking only at his own text (not comparing it with the *Text. Recept.*), and seeing three αὐτῷ's in it, he rashly contradicts Birch, and says the first αὐτῷ is in the MS. So, shortly after, Acts xvii. 19, speaking of Birch, he says, 'Dicit deesse ἢ, and rejoins, 'Adest.' But Birch said, 'ἢ ante ἵδη.' In the *Textus Receptus* ἢ occurs twice; the ἢ before ἵδη is omitted in Mai's own text, and that was the ἢ which Birch rightly said was wanting.

² We refer to the reprint of Mai's New Testament, printed by Teubner at Leipsic, and published with an English advertisement by Williams and Norgate, and Nutt. It appears to be very well executed. The Roman edition is reprinted page for page, the errata noted at the end of that edition being corrected. It would have been a great additional advantage if the preface of Vercellone had been prefixed.

probably been careless. We cannot rely with confidence on the orthography of words when that does not affect the sense; *e.g.* within a few verses in 1 John v. 18, Mai prints ἀλλά: Bentley's collations give ἀλλ'. In v. 15, Mai has δ ἀν, Bentley, δ ἐὰν: yet this variation was sometimes observed by Mai, as in Matt. xvi. 19, he prints δ ἐὰν, with this note in the margin: 'Ita cod. pro. ἀν.'

But though the work has been executed in this clumsy way, it is fair to say, 1st. That the result is much better than could have been expected; so that the actual examination of the volume produced an agreeable surprise after what we had been led to anticipate from the Preface, which was sent to England some months before the body of the work. A comparison with the collations shows that the *important* inaccuracies, when we correct the text by the margin, (of which we shall speak presently,) are *probably* few compared with what we might have anticipated. 2d. That there is no *mala fides* whatever, so far as we are able to judge. It is true that doubts have been expressed as to the trustworthiness of an edition of the New Testament prepared in Rome. But, in point of fact, the questions between Rome and the rest of Christendom do not turn on 'readings' and in some of the instances in which the evidence of the most sacred doctrines of our common religion might seem to be affected by various readings, the Vulgate is much more in harmony with the recent results of critical investigation than our own text; *e.g.* the Vulgate reads in 1 Tim. iii. 16, 'That which was manifested in the flesh;' not 'God was,' &c.

But though we honestly believe there is no *mala fides* in the editor's work, yet a course has been adopted which might at first sight look like it, and which is certainly calculated needlessly to confuse a reader. That is, the supplying not only the *lacunæ* of the MS., but words and passages found in the common received text and not in the MS., out of other MSS., or the *Textus Receptus*; and that *in the same type exactly as the part derived from the MS.*, without any indication that it is so supplied except in notes: *e.g.* as to *lacunæ*: The codex ends in the middle of the fourteenth verse of Heb. ix., and consequently the rest of that Epistle and the Epistles to Timothy, Titus, Philemon, and the Apocalypse are wanting (the Catholic Epistles, as in other most ancient MSS., coming before those of S. Paul): now all these are supplied in the present volume *as if* they were part of the ancient MS. And any one who did not know (or did not remember) this, would naturally suppose that the Pastoral Epistles in this volume were a part of the Vatican MS. He might indeed see the contrary if he looked at p. 440, where there is noted **FINIS CODICIS VATICANI;** or at p. 441,

where there is the note: ‘*sequentia omnia, usque ad Pauli epistolarum finem, ex antiquo codice Vaticano 1761. sumimus, qui est saeculi ferme decimi;*’ or at p. 465, where is the note: ‘*Apocalypsin sumimus ex venerando codice vaticano 2066. saeculi circiter viii. litteris quadratis scripta.*’ But why render this necessary? It is well to have the text of these ancient MSS., but it ought to have been printed in a different type from that of the Vatican MS.

However, as we have said, the same course is often adopted where there is no *lacuna*, and where it is possible in all cases, probable in most, and certain in some, that the inserted words were not omitted by mistake, but that they ought to be left out in a fair representation of the text designed to be given in this most ancient codex.

Thus the passage on the Heavenly Witnesses in 1 John v. 7, 8, is supplied, with a long note, saying that the reading of the Vatican MS. is ὅτι τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες, τὸ πνεῦμα, κ.τ.λ. However, ‘unus Vaticanus *Græcus* codex, haud valde priscus testimonium id exhibet, quod passim Latini codices vigilanter conservant, atque in his antiquissimus monasterii Cavensis apud Salernum, cuius fidelissimum apographum, consilio meo, in Vaticana bibliotheca his annis collocatum est.’ This is a marvellous attempt to divert the reader’s attention from the fact that these words are not in any Greek MS. of the least value. Why are we not told the number, or the probable age and character of the ‘not very old Greek MS.’ which contains them? And is it so, that at Rome they believe that the *Latin manuscripts* ‘in all cases,’ or ‘generally,’ or whatever else the vague word *passim* means, contain the verse,—*passim vigilanter conservant?* Besides, after all the Codex Cavensis does not exhibit the passage as it stands in the *Textus Receptus*: but introduces the Heavenly Witnesses after the earthly; does not have the words *in terra*; and adds *in Christo Jesu* after *unum sunt*, in speaking of the earthly witnesses,—very strong indications of the Heavenly Witnesses being an addition to the original text. (See Tischendorf, N.T. ed. vii. *in loc.*)

Again, the last twelve verses in the *Textus Receptus* of S. Mark are wanting in the Vatican MS., and a blank page is left in the codex. There is a note declaring that it is *exploratissimum*, that the passage ought to be retained: with two well-known *Scholia* bearing on the question, and an intimation that the text is taken *ex codice Vat. Palatino 220, saeculi ferme decimi*; but the words *KATA MAPKON* are not printed, as they ought to have been, after *ἔφοβοῦντο γάρ* at the end of v. 9.

So John vii. 53, and viii. 1—12, which is not in the MS., is

inserted without any distinction or mark in the text, but with a note, *Confer catholicos criticos*, &c. So in John v. 3, the MS. would run: ‘In these lay a great multitude of impotent folk, blind, halt, lame;’ (omitting ‘waiting for the moving of the water, for at certain seasons,’ &c., and continuing) ‘And there was a man there.’ The omitted words are printed as part of the text, with a note, stating the fact that they are not in the MS., but referring to *Scholzii κριτικωτάτην editionem*. The same course is adopted in S. Luke xxii. 43, 44; xxiii. 17, and the most sacred words of verse 34, ‘And Jesus said, Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do.’ These passages are printed as if they were in the MS., and a note is subjoined to say they are *not* in it.

Again, Matt. xii. 47 is supplied *in parentheses* by way of variety, with the marginal note; ‘*Hic versiculos incaute prætermisso fuit in codice.*’ It may be almost certainly asserted that it was *not* prætermitted in the MS. from carelessness, because it is also wanting not only in two other uncials, but in the Curetonian Syriac, of which we have to speak shortly, and in some copies of the old Latin version. It can scarcely be supposed that the Codex Vaticanus was the one common original of all these MSS. and versions. So Mark xv. 28, which is wanting in the Vatican, as in the other most ancient uncials, is inserted with the quaint note: ‘*Sed tamen præclarum vaticinium a famosis aliis codicibus patribusque confirmatum ab hac editione abesse nolui-mus.*’ The *famosis aliis codicibus* is really ambiguous and deceptive, and *some* of the fathers may have cited S. Matthew.

But after all, this course of insertion is not uniformly adopted: the editor loved variety. As the Preface, after enumerating some of the passages thus inserted, naïvely says: ‘In the ‘same way Matt. xxiii. 14, and Acts xxiv. 7, 8, might have ‘been supplied.’ So, we may add, might several other passages, which Vercellone overlooked; e.g. Acts viii. 37, where the printers have gone on numbering the verses regularly, and made vv. 38, 39, 40 of the Vulgate, vv. 37, 38, 39. In Acts xxiv. 7, 8, and Matt. xxiii. 14, a similar course has been adopted, but with explanatory notes stating the omission, whilst in Acts viii. 37, there is no note. But still more strangely, by way of a fresh variety, in S. Matt. xvi., ver. 3 and parts of vv. 2, 4, are wanting in the MS. and are not printed in the edition of Mai, and no notice whatever is taken of the fact, any more than in Acts viii. 37, and the numbers 2, 3, 4 are crowded in the margin as if the verses were there, and it was all right. The text runs thus: ‘He ‘answered and said unto them, A wicked and adulterous gene-‘ration,’ &c. omitting ‘When it is evening ye say, It will be ‘fair weather, for the sky is red, and in the morning, It will be

'foul weather to-day: for the sky is red and lowering. O ye 'hypocrites, ye can discern the face of the sky, but can ye not 'discern the signs of the times?' It is true that Jerome says of this passage, 'Hoc in plerisque codicibus non habetur,' and they are omitted, we may add by anticipation, in the Curetonian Syriac. But they are in the Vulgate, and we know not to what strange fancy, for it could scarcely be an oversight, we are to attribute the fact, that the editors neither insert the missing words, nor notice that they are omitted, nor even adapt the numbering of the verses in any way to the change. It seems as if they were quite unaware of the variation. In Matt. xviii., verse 11, which is wanting in the codex, is *omitted* in the printed text, (it is wanting in other uncials and versions,) but we are reminded in the margin, 'Deest in cod. vers. 11,' and the figures 11 being squeezed in, the verses which follow retain their accustomed numbers. But in 1 Pet. v. the third verse, which is wanting in the MS., is *printed* in the text with the foot-note, 'Hic versiculus 3 deest in Cod. Vat.' On the other hand, in Eph. i. 15, ἀγάπην is *left out* of the text, with the marginal note, 'Deest ἀγάπην in cod.' In three places (Acts x. 41, James v. 14, 3 John 7) we have in the codex only the words ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι, 'in the Name;' in each place the common text adds αὐτοῦ or τοῦ κυρίου. The first passage Mai prints as it stands in the MS. without αὐτοῦ, with 'Ita cod.' in the margin: in the second he inserts τοῦ κυρίου, with 'τοῦ κυρίου deest in cod.' in the margin; in the third he again reverts to the codex, prints the text simply ὑπὲρ γὰρ τοῦ ὀνόματος, and puts in the margin, 'Ita cod. sine αὐτοῦ.' It is hard to conceive any combinations of variations of method which are not exemplified here. These are, to say the least, most unscholarlike, uncritical modes of editing this venerable MS.

There are other indications from which we might imagine that the parties by whom the work was edited were ignorant of the results of criticism now well known, nay, even of the peculiar grammatical forms used in the New Testament. We refer to the marginal notes in which the editor indicates what is the reading of the MS., though he has not put it in the text, or that the reading in his text *really is* the reading of the MS., strange as it may seem. 'Cod.' or 'Ita Cod.' are the notes we mean.

There is no principle, so far as we can see, on which the spelling of the MS. has been followed or altered. It is very well known that in MSS. of this date vowels and diphthongs are interchanged, probably according to the prevalent pronunciation of the time, and this more or less uniformly, the usage being technically called *itacism*: thus η and ει, as *avapteipous* for *avapηρους*

(Luke xiv. 21); or *αι* and *ε*, according to which *εγειραι* would be written *εγειρε*, *passim*: *εταιροις*, *ετεροις* (Matt. xi. 16), *ενδυσασθε*, *ενδυσασθαι*, and *vice versa*; and it cannot be decided from the MS. which of the two is intended. Both in Mark vi. 9, and Eph. iv. 24, Mai prints *ένδύσασθαι* in the text, putting in the margin in the first, '1 m. *ένδύσασθε*', in the latter, 'Cod. *ένδύσασθε*'.

Now, in cases of this kind, the utmost irregularity and (we fear) carelessness pervades this edition. We would shrink from attributing ignorance to Angelo Mai; and as we have not the Prolegomena which he had intended to write respecting the Codex, we are very much in the dark as to his views: but we can speak to the facts before us.

One very common itacism is the interchange of *υ* and *οι*: as Acts vii. 56, for *διενογμένους*, the first scribe wrote *διενυγμένους*: and thus *συ* is written when *σοι* is the word intended. Now, in Mark i. 24, we have *τι ἡμῖν καὶ σὺ* printed in the text, and in the margin, 'Ita Codex, non *σοι*'. Now, if any one thing in the MS. was altered this ought to have been, and 'Cod. *συ*' put in the margin, for no one ever so little versed in these things could doubt that *σοι* is the word meant. Elsewhere, so far as we observe, *σοι* is printed. But unless B. is a very idiosyncratic MS. there must be innumerable instances where its itacisms are corrected in the printed text without any intimation of the fact.¹ Yet that fact is often important, as indicating the cause of a various reading.

There is one itacism, however, which Mai felt some special interest in, and intended generally to represent, *i.e.* the use of *ει* for *ι*, 'especially when the *ι* is long,' as expressed in a note at the beginning of the New Testament: thus we have *κρινων* for *judging*, *γεινωσκων* for *knowing*, almost throughout: we have also *Φαρεισαῖοι*, *Γαλειδαῖας*, almost always; but in Rom. iv. 11, we have *σφραγίδα* in the text, and '1 m. *σφραγείδα*' in the margin. And this irregularity pervades the volume. Thus, Matt. xv. 27, we have *ἐσθείει ἀπὸ τῶν ψειχίων* in the text, with '2 m. *ἐσθίει*' and '2 m. *ψιχίων*' in the margin: but, Luke viii. 8, *έκατονταπλασιονα* in the text, and '1 m. *έκατονταπλείονα*' in the margin. Matt. xii. 19, *οὐκ ἐρίσει*, in the text, and in the margin, 'Cod. *οὐκ ἐρείσει*'; and, Luke xxiv. 49, *έπαγγελιαν* in the text, and in the margin, '1 m. *έπαγγελεῖαν*'.

It is plain that the work was done at intervals, sheet by sheet,

¹ This conjecture, we understand, is fully confirmed by Rulotta's list of first and second hand readings made for Bentley. It records very many itacisms unnoticed by Mai; *e.g.*, in Matt. xi. 13, the first hand wrote *ει θελεται δεξασθαι*, the second hand made it *θελετε δεξασθε*, putting an *ε* over each *αι*; *θελετε δεξασθα*, is printed by Mai, and *δεξασθε* is noticed as the reading of the second hand, but nothing is said of *θελετε* not being by the first hand.

without looking forward, or laying down any settled rules; for, in John i. 43, there is in the text, *σὺ εἶ Σίμων ὁ γενός Ἰωάννα*: and in the margin, '1 m. *Ιωάννον*', but in xxi. 15, *Σίμων Ἰωάννον* in the text, and in the margin a note: 'Sic et infra. Sic etiam cap. i. 43, quam ibi lectionem me retinuisse mallem.'

There is generally the utmost want of uniformity as to *prima* and *secunda manu* readings: sometimes one is in the text, sometimes the other: e.g. Matt. xiii. 14, *ἀκοῦ ἀκούσετε* is in the text, and '1 m. *ἀκούσατε*' in the margin (*ἀκούσατε* was the reading and not a mistake); but in Mark iv. 28 we have the clear blunder, *εἰτὸν στάχυν* in the text, and '2 m. *εἴρα προ εἰτὸν*' in the margin: just reversing what ought to have been done by an editor who corrected anything at all.

There is, however, a still more serious neglect in regard to the different corrections of the text. There are corrections by interlineations and by marginal additions throughout the MS., as well as what are designated as *secunda manu* corrections, which are chiefly only in matters of orthography. Now, it is most important to know whether these interlineations and marginal additions are made by a contemporary or a later hand. If by a contemporary, they ought to be regarded as the really intended reading of the text; inasmuch as the work of the mechanical copyist, who wrote out the manuscript, was regularly revised by a corrector of superior intelligence, known as the *διορθωτής*: analogously to the revisings of the 'reader' in our printing-offices. Most of the marginal and interlinear additions in this MS. have most probably been made by the *διορθωτής*. But we have no information on the point. Once we have, Mark x. 19, the marginal note, 'ἀποστερήσογεν est in margine ab antiqua manu,' the sentence needing it; for else it would run (there being no division in the original), *μὴ τείμα (i.e. τίμα) τὸν πατέρα σου καὶ τὴν μητέρα*. Again, at a quotation, Mark xii. 29–31, 'Ponuntur virgulae antiqua manu.' Once we have, Luke i. 34, at *πῶς ἔσται τοῦτο*; the note,* 'In marg. additur *μοι sec. m.*' And in the same chapter, v. 25, before *ὄνειδός*, '2 m. interponit *τό*.' But usually it is simply said that words are interlined, or added in the margin. We believe this means, by the first scribe or the contemporary corrector: but we do not know, and from this edition have not the means of ascertaining.

In grammatical forms it is probable that the writers of the Greek Testament and the Septuagint used the forms retained in the old MSS., as did others of that time: e.g. in the 2d Aor. Ind. *ἔλθατε* for *ἔλθετε*, &c.; but in Matt. vii. 13, there is *εἰσέλθατε* in the text, and in the margin, 'Ita Cod.', as if it were something strange; yet *ῆλθαν*, *προσῆλθαν*, *ἔλεγαν*, and the rest of the family occur again and again, as do a hundred corresponding

forms which are unnoticed. Nay, in the same chapter, vii. 6, where the common text has *μήποτε καταπατήσωσιν ὑμᾶς*, the Vatican MS. has *καταπατήσουσιν*, according to a most frequent New Testament usage, probably obliterated in the later copies by the grammarians. Mai puts *καταπατήσωσιν* in the text, and relegates the unquestionably genuine reading to the margin with the remark, ‘Cod. ουσιν.’ But in S. Matt. vi. 28, where there is *κοπιοῦσιν* in the MS. and text, there is no ‘Ita Cod.’ in the margin, as though *κοπιοῦσιν* were a usual form. In John i. 26, *στήκει* is in the text rightly, but ‘Ita Cod.’ in the margin. So in S. Matt. xxiv. 15, *ἔστως* is printed in the text; in the margin we have the true reading, ‘1^o. man. *ἔστὸς*.’ So elsewhere, the ‘*prima manu*’ writing has been as unreasonably displaced. In Eph. i. 8, *κατὰ τὸ πλοῦτος* correctly in the text, but with ‘Ita Cod.’ in the margin: so in 2 Cor. viii. 2: though the use of the neuter *πλοῦτος* instead of the masculine form is now established as a New Testament usage. It seems as if the editor put ‘Ita Cod.’ whenever it struck him that there was something worth observing. The instances are past numbering.

We could sympathise with putting in the margin such manifest blunders as S. John iv. 52, ‘Cod. αὐτῆν,’ when the *son* of the nobleman is spoken of; or ‘1 m. *πρός*,’ when it is a blunder for *πρὸ* (*πρὸ* *έμοι*). But this is not uniformly done: e.g. Mark xiv. 49, *οὐκ ἐκράτει με*, with ‘Ita Cod.’ (for *ἐκρατεῖτε*); John xiii. 18, *ἐπῆρεν ἐμὲ τὴν πτέρναν αὐτοῦ*, with ‘Ita Cod. sine *ἐπ-*’. Surely there ought to have been some uniform rule; and in this instance we would readily have sacrificed facility of reading for a faithful representation of the MS., and have had every letter, every misspelling, every blunder, every interlining, every marginal addition or note, every ‘2 manu’ correction, precisely indicated in common cursive characters, as in the English edition of the Codex Augiensis, if we could not have it in *fac-simile*.

To return. There are other cases where these marginal notes seem to show an ignorance of what is matter of common notoriety among those who have studied the subject of New Testament readings ever so little. Thus, in 1 Cor. iv. 6, we read in the text, *τὸ μὴ ὑπὲρ ἄγεγραπται φρονεῖν*; in the margin, ‘*φρονεῖν* deest in Cod.;’ and in the judgment of many sound critics it ought to be left out in the text. In John v. 44, on the other hand, *θεοῦ*, after *παρὰ τοῦ μόνου*, is not introduced into the text; and in the margin we have the notice, ‘Deest *θεοῦ* in Codice.’ (It is wanting in some copies of the old Latin Version and the Coptic, and Lachmann marks it as doubtful [*θεοῦ*].) A few verses below, the last word of the chapter is *πιστεύετε*, for our *πιστεύστε*. Here we have the side-note, ‘Ita in Cod.’ (This reading, we may notice in passing, is in the

Curetonian Syriac and some of the old Latin Versions.) In 1 Cor. xv. 51, where the Codex agrees with the Greek *Textus Receptus* (but not with the Vulgate), there is an ‘Ita Cod.’ In John i. 18, ὁ μονογενὴς θεὸς (where we have *vios*), an undoubtedly ancient reading, occurs in the text, but in the margin, ‘Ita Cod.’¹ In John iii. 25, μετὰ ἰουδαίων, the true reading for the common one, Ἰουδαῖοι, is in the text, but it is thought necessary to put ‘Ita Cod.’ in the margin. In Mark ix. 23, εἰ δυνῆ, πάντα δίναται τῷ πιστεύοντι, with ‘Ita Cod. sine πιστεύσαι.’ If one of these variations is thus to be noted, so ought every variation.

It would be endless to notice these instances of uncritical editing. They show, however, we really believe, an honest wish to exhibit the text faithfully, and to draw attention to important variations, to the best of the editor’s ability; but great want of acquaintance with this kind of work.

We pass from the painful task of touching thus on the faulty execution of the edition to the much more important question,—the value of the MS. and of the text represented by it.

These are two quite distinct questions. The text may be a very good one; that is, it may have every appearance of approaching to a faithful representation of the original; but in this particular MS. it may have been copied carelessly, with omissions, substitutions, repetitions: on the other hand, the MS. may be beautifully and carefully written, but the text represented by it be full of interpolations, or other characteristics of corruption. We say this the rather because the faults of the copyist of the MS. before us have been alleged as arguments against its *text*. We might as well argue against the value of the MS. from the faults of its editor.

Again, the antiquity of a MS. in itself proves nothing whatever as to the value of the MS. or of its text. It may have been a worthless copy, or may have contained a bad text, and in consequence have been little used, and so not worn out. Or it may have been carelessly written, or over cleverly. The transcriber may have inserted in the text what he found noted in the margin of the copy before him, (as words omitted and words of explanation both found their place in the margins,

¹ In this instance there is a good reason for saying ‘Ita Cod.’ inasmuch as the reading was previously doubted of. Bartolocci collation had said the reading was Θεὸς, Bentley’s had not noticed it. Dr. Tregelles stated that he had himself seen it in the MS. It is remarkable that this reading of B. should have been ascertained so recently, and also that the same has been found to be the reading of C, in which it was chymically brought to light.—See Tregelles’ ‘Account of the Printed Text of the New Testament,’ pp. 234, 235.

and the scribes very often did not understand what they copied,) or he might have thought that he improved his work by making the quotations agree with the Old Testament, or the narrative of one Gospel with that of another; or by inserting what he found narrated elsewhere, by way of giving all the good matter he could in one place; or, lastly, by refining the style. For instance, the Syriac MS. which Dr. Cureton has edited is one of the very oldest extant, and yet *its text is the very worst that ever was brought to light.*

It is obvious that when books were copied (before the introduction of printing), specially when they were copied for the use of a large number of persons, not of a literary class, and were released from the restraints of verse, or of a specially peculiar style, the introduction and propagation of errors must have been much more easy than we can now readily realize. If a book is printed, the whole edition, say of a thousand copies, is exactly alike, and an error discovered in any one copy is known to exist in all; the existence of the errors therefore is notorious, and, if need be, they may be corrected. But in transcription each individual copy must be examined by itself if its mistakes are to be discovered; and until the Church became settled, and some sort of general understanding was arrived at, innumerable faulty copies might be made by careless and ignorant scribes, and their errors be comparatively little known, as indeed they continued to be to the very last.

If, then, an ancient MS. is before us, how shall we judge of the goodness of its text? Only by comparison with other authorities: by ascertaining (as far as may be) the texts generally received in early times, which may be done partly by the positive statements of the ancient writers, partly by seeing what were the readings of the MSS. they themselves used; partly by a means almost entirely neglected, the indications afforded by allusions in the Liturgies;¹ partly by the Versions into other languages; and lastly, by the internal evidence of probability according to the established laws of criticism. These considerations must all come in.

The subject is, of course, too extensive to be treated of at the present time. We shall only notice one or two points.

¹ We wish to mention a remarkable instance of this, in the confirmation of the reading *ἐν* as a preposition instead of *η*, *one*, at the conclusion of our Lord's interpretation of the Parable of the Sower, in S. Mark iv. 20, ' and brought forth fruit, *one thirtyfold*, one sixty, one an hundred; ' *ἐν τριάκοντα*, or *ἐν τριάκοντα*. It is not necessary to say that, the oldest MSS. having no points, the word EN may be either. But in the Liturgy of S. Mark, p. 11 of Mr. Neale's shilling edition, a prayer occurs with the following petition:—*καὶ ποιῆσαι καρπὸς ἀγαθῶν, ἀνὰ τριάκοντα, καὶ ἐκαρόν.* Here there can be no mistake: and it is difficult to suppose that this peculiar use of *ἐν* could arise from any other cause than this being an ancient, and to some considerable extent the recognised and received reading.

The evidence about the text to be derived from the intimations contained in early Christian writers is often spoken of very slightly; and doubtless, if indiscriminately used, it cannot be of any value. Each citation needs to be examined; for the writer may have quoted from memory; or he may have mixed up the words of one Gospel with those of another; or he may have used Scripture language allusively, or have combined explanatory clauses with the text, or put in words to complete the sense of a partial citation; or, lastly, his citations may have been accommodated by transcribers or editors to the text received at the time they were copying or publishing them. But suppose a Father distinctly states that some copies had this reading and some that, or argues on the very words of the text against those with whom he was in controversy; or suppose several Fathers cite a passage in the same words (for mistakes of memory, &c. are likely to be diverse); or suppose the reading be one which was not the received reading when the MS. we have was made; then in any or all of these cases the Patristic evidence is the very strongest we can have, because it is anterior to any one MS., at all events to any two MSS. that we possess: and it is by this historical test, *so far as it is capable of being applied*, that we must judge of the value of MS. texts. Its application, however, can only be very limited, and the result will prove that the variation of texts in the early ages was great, and that we must often be content to say of two or even three readings of a passage, that they are all *early readings*.

Parallel safeguards are necessary in the use of Versions. In versions explanatory words are more likely to be introduced. In some instances translators may have felt that they might take liberties where a transcriber could not. They may have erred in their understanding of the original; or the work of the original translator may have been afterwards accommodated to the text which in later times was received in the Greek MSS. But where the text of the versions differs from the later received text, their evidence in agreement with *ancient MSS.* is very strong.

Our own impression is that in its general character the *Codex Vaticanus* contains a very good text, perhaps the best ancient text extant, but that, of course, it cannot at all be relied on *by itself*; partly because of the mistakes of the scribe, of which we have incidentally given many instances; partly because there are instances in which the evidence preponderates strongly against it. It is a very good text, but cannot be regarded as by any means uniformly correct.

The publication of the MS. enables us to judge of its merits much better than we could have done before, and the evidence

there is of frequent omissions on the part of the scribe, has been alleged as a strong ground for suspecting that this is the cause of, what is allowedly the general characteristic of the text of this Codex, its omitting—or, to speak more properly, not containing—words which are found in other early MSS. For instance, it is said, the way of this scribe was not to repeat, but to overlook; hence the difference between the text of B. and A. But the faults of the transcriber who wrote this particular MS. cannot account for its shorter text, when that shorter text is found not only in other early MSS. but in versions also, and Fathers; because it is quite impossible these could all be derived from this one MS. They existed independently of it, and they are therefore independent witnesses to the shorter text being a received text; and so, being the text which the copyist of B. had before him; the omissions, so to call them, being in no wise caused by him.

The general principle of critics is well known and allowed,—that the longer text is the less likely to be genuine, additions being more likely to creep in than omissions to be made. The principle, of course, requires to be maintained in connexion with the considerations of other causes which may have contributed to the insertion or the omission.

But on the general question, and particularly with reference to the MS. before us, we cannot but think the statements of S. Jerome very important; and as they will throw an interesting light on the whole subject, we will close our observations on this particular work with the investigation and illustration of them. We make these observations with caution, aware of the difficulties which involve theories of recensions, and conscious that the MS. texts we now have are all mixed texts. But the general observation and the general inferences we draw appear to be valid.

S. Jerome says, in his letter to Damasus on his translation of the Gospels, speaking of the *New Testament*:—*Preremitto eos codices quos (1) a Luciano et Hesychio nuncupatos (2) paucorum hominum asserit perversa contentio: quibus utique nec in [toto] Vetere Instrumento post LXX interpretes emendare quid licuit, nec in Novo profuit (3) emendasse: cum (4) multarum gentium linguis Scriptura ante translata doceat falsa esse quæ (5) addita sunt.*

Here, making all allowances for the vehemence of the writer, five points are clear:—1. There were copies extant bearing the names of Lucian and Hesychius. 2. These copies were used by a few. (But we allow it does not appear that these were not the few intelligent scholars who could appreciate the better text; on the other hand, it does not preclude them from afterwards

coming to be used by the many,—nay, by the Church of those districts generally, owing to the influence of *the few*.) 3. They contained variations from (what Jerome considered) the true text. 4. They differed from the extant versions, for he says that the versions previously made would evidence the spuriousness of the recent alterations. 5. Their prominent difference was *in the way of addition*.

We are quite aware that Jerome's saying, '*pauorum hominum*', may need to be taken with caution, as also his speaking of the '*multarum gentium linguis*', when he probably could not answer for *many*. Still his general statement is important, particularly as it is probable that the school of learning and the sphere of influence of Lucian of Antioch at least, living at the beginning of the fourth century, would lead to the copies of the Scriptures, which were in some way revised by him and bore his name, being very generally received, at least in the patriarchates of Antioch and of Constantinople,—from the close connexion of these places, the influence of the Antiochian school at Constantinople, its Bishops in several instances coming from Antioch or its dependencies, and the jealousy of Alexandria,—and these Jerome says distinctly were the districts in which Lucian's text of the LXX. was received. Now we do in fact find, that a text which, when compared with that of the Codex Vaticanus, answers Jerome's description, came more especially to prevail in these districts, was used by S. Chrysostom and Theodoret, and has been called the Constantinopolitan text. Whether Jerome or Lucian were more likely to appreciate which was critically the best text, is another matter.

From the Gelasian decree, (which was doubtless designed to echo these words of Jerome,) it appears that the Gospels were specially regarded as thus corrupted.

Let us try now whether we do not find in the Constantinopolitan text of the Gospels indications of some similarity to Jerome's description of the copies that bore the name of Lucian. It ought to be added, to anticipate objections, that Jerome's own text, probably from his disposition to conform to the readings received already through the old Latin translations, itself has *additions* to the Greek text.

S. Matt. vi. 13. The Doxology at the end of the Lord's Prayer was not in the old Latin, nor in the text Jerome used, nor in the Codex Vaticanus. It is in all the later Greek MSS. and in S. Chrysostom.

viii. 25. *οἱ μάθηται αὐτοῦ*, which all the later Greek MSS. have, is not in the Vatican MS. nor in good MSS. of the Vulgate, nor in the old Latin.

viii. 31. The Vatican MS. has, ‘Send us into the herd of swine.’ So Jerome read, so the old Latin. Imagine his indignation at reading in the Antiochian copies, ‘Suffer us to go,’ &c. the reading of the later Greek; or in v. 32, for ‘into the swine,’ ‘into the herd of swine,’ the later reading; or in c. ix. 13, ‘I came not to call the righteous, but sinners,’ with the addition, novel to him, ‘to repentance,’ which afterwards became the prevalent reading.

Similar instances pervade the New Testament. In the Lord’s Prayer, in S. Luke: Jerome’s Vulgate and this MS., agreeing with the direct testimony of Origen and others that these words were not in S. Luke, do not read the clauses ήμῶν, ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς: nor γενηθήτω τὸ θέλημά σου, ἡς ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς: nor ἀλλὰ ρῦσαι ημᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονίρου. Yet in MS. authority the Vatican MS. is only supported by one uncial out of nearly twenty, and five or six cursives.¹

Such is the case in a later part of the Scripture, at the end of 1 Cor. vi. 20: there to the words, ‘glorify God in your body,’ the later MSS. and those used by S. Chrysostom and Theodoret, added, ‘and in your spirit, which are God’s.’ Jerome did not read thus, nor does the Vatican MS.

We may have done enough in suggesting these instances, others will readily present themselves.

There is to our minds a noble and majestic simplicity in the conciseness of the text of this MS., which commends it very much to us as bearing characteristic marks of genuine antiquity. A few specimens will show our meaning. In the Parable of the Ten Virgins (Matt. xxv. 6) the Vatican MS. has, ‘Behold the bridegroom! go forth to meet him:’ Ιδού ὁ νυμφός, ἔξερχεσθε εἰς ἀπάντησιν, without ἔρχεται after νυμφός or αὐτοῦ after ἀπάντησιν. And, verse 13, ‘Watch therefore, for ye know neither the day nor the hour:’ without the words, ‘when the Son of man cometh.’ That these are not accidental omissions of the transcriber of this MS. appears from the other authorities which have the same readings. So in the parable that follows. So in the interpretation of the Parable of the Tares (chap. xiii.), at the end,—‘There shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth. Understand ye all these things? They say unto him, Yea.’

¹ This is a remarkable instance of Patristic testimony in favour of the Vatican against the other MSS. Of the two last of the three clauses in question, Origen distinctly says they are not in S. Luke’s Gospel. S. Augustine says the same. Of the omission of the first and third by S. Luke, S. Cyril of Alexandria is equally express. Yet how slender is the MS. authority for omitting them. We find S. Cyril’s testimony in the newly discovered Homilies on S. Luke, recently published in Syriac and English at Oxford; in the English translation there is a collation of the text as represented there; it is done very neatly, and gives us readily the results as to S. Cyril’s readings.

Our text introduces, ‘Jesus saith unto them,’ before ‘Understand ye,’ and ‘Yea, Lord,’ for the simple ‘Yea.’

We pass now to the next work to which we have referred:—The fragmentary remains of a copy of the Gospels in Syriac, written probably in the middle of the fifth century. Its peculiar value consists in this, that its text is widely different from that of any of the Syriac versions hitherto known among us. It appears, as far as is known at present, to stand *alone*; there is no copy like it; there is no history attached to it. There was a volume of the Gospels brought by Dr. Tattam from the Nitrian Desert, in 1842, made up from parts of several different manuscripts. Among them were eighty leaves of what is now published. Two more leaves were afterwards discovered by Dr. Cureton; one in the binding of a book; another and a piece of a third among MSS. brought from Egypt by M. Pacho in 1847.

The portions which have hitherto been recovered consist of Matt. i. 1—viii. 22; x. 32—xxiii. 25; Mark xvi. 17—20; John i. 1—42; iii. 6—vii. 37; xiv. 10—12, 16—18, 19—23, 26—29; Luke ii. 48—iii. 16; vii. 33—xv. 21; xvii. 24—xxiv. 44.

This text Dr. Cureton has edited in beautiful type and style. He has added an English translation, framed with the object of making it as literal as possible, ‘in order to enable those who ‘may not be acquainted with the Syriac to use the English for ‘comparison with the Greek. For this purpose,’ he adds, ‘I have even retained the order of the Syriac words, so far as ‘it seemed possible so to do without obscurity.’ (Pref. p. xciv.) He has also aimed at rendering the same Syriac by the same English word. The result is a translation very difficult to read. It would have been very useful if there had been appended a collation of this text with the Greek *Textus Receptus*, indicating, in all cases in which it is possible, the Greek reading which the Syriac text represents. It would at least spare a reader much trouble.¹ Dr. Cureton has also written very copious notes on the text of this copy, comparing it with the readings of ancient MSS. and versions, and explaining its peculiarities and its errors.

He has also prefixed a preface of considerable length, devoted for the most part to a general account of the text, and to the

¹ It may be added, that Dr. Cureton kindly imparted the Syriac text, which has been printed for some time, to Dr. Tischendorf and Dr. Tregelles, by whom it has been collated, and the results indicated in the new edition of Tischendorf’s Greek Testament, and that which Dr. Tregelles is preparing. Indeed, some account of the MS. and notices of its most striking peculiarities are given by the latter writer in his ‘Account of the Printed Text of the New Testament,’ and the volume of the new edition of Horne’s Introduction, edited by him.

exposition of his views about this Syriac copy of the Gospel of S. Matthew, of which we shall speak more at length presently.

There is a beautiful *fac-simile* of a portion of the MS. as a frontispiece, for which, he says, with a home-like kindness which must be felt by every reader, ‘I am indebted to the willing and skilful hand of my wife.’ (Pref. p. xciv.)

Of the codex itself we must now speak; and first it is well to notice Dr. Cureton’s statement, that ‘There are no indications of any division of the Gospels into ecclesiastical sections of the same period as the transcription of the volume;’ such were afterwards added. The text, Dr. Cureton saw on examination, was very different from that of the Peshito, or any other already known in Europe. He considers that it is scarcely possible ‘that the Syriac text, published by Widmanstead,’ i.e. the printed Peshito, ‘could be altogether a different version from this (see also p. lxvii.), and Dr. Tregelles thinks they can hardly be *wholly independent*.’ (Horne’s Introd. p. 268.) We observe that Mr. Scrivener holds that, so far as he has examined them, they seem to be ‘quite separate versions.’

What Dr. Cureton truly says of the Gospels of S. Luke and S. John, is, we believe, equally true of that of S. Matthew. We find additions made to the text from the other Evangelists; words or phrases altered to bring them into closer conformity or identity with the other Gospels; ‘errors which can only be attributed to ignorance or mistakes on the part of the translator.’ (P. lxvi.) ‘Errors which could only have arisen from confounding one Greek word with another.’ (P. lxix.) The translator does not distinguish ἀνὴρ and ἄνθρωπος. He has translated τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς σου, ‘the time of thy visitation,’ as ‘the day of thy greatness,’ (from imagining, as Dr. Cureton conceives, ἐπισκοπή, ‘bishopric,’ to be the highest honour). ‘There are also manifest errors in the text, which can hardly be attributed to any other cause than ignorance or carelessness on the part of the transcriber. The one or more translators have left clear indications that they were not fully acquainted with all the precise shades of meaning, and the logical peculiarities of various terms in the original Greek.’ (*Ibid.*) Dr. Cureton admits that ‘the Gospel of S. Matthew also seems to exhibit some signs of a similar nature; especially with regard to additions made to the text;’ but these are explained by him in another way.

He also says (p. lxvii.) that besides the variations ‘in the text of one of the Canonical Gospels, occasioned by reference to what is found in the others, there are also some passages added, which do not appear to have been written at all by any of the Four Evangelists, but rather to have been taken from some of those uncanonical or apocryphal histories which

'were common in the early ages of the Church.' Of course one naturally exclaims, What can be the value of such a result of ignorance and confusion?

It is true that in these respects the present version is like, but it goes very, very far beyond, the ancient Latin versions before the time of Jerome; and Dr. Cureton would refer it to those ages 'when the spirit was felt to be of far greater importance than the letter; and when the substance of what the Evangelists had written was more heeded than the very words in which it was expressed.' (P. lxv.) We must protest against this apology for careless transcription, ignorant translation, and the designed introduction into the text of a book of matter which the copyist did not find in it. Of the facility with which such corruptions might be made in copies of the Scriptures in the early ages, we have already spoken. This facility would be very greatly increased in translation. Each one, we are told, of old translated from the Greek as he could or as he would; and we have no doubt whatever that the Syriac text now discovered has been produced by the *ad libitum* alterations of a translator who wished to send out a new and improved version, as we should say,—giving all he could find in different copies of the Greek Scriptures.

We wish these facts to be remembered, because we should include in the same description the Gospel of S. Matthew, as represented in this Syriac text, which Dr. Cureton believes to be in substance the original Gospel. But though these mistakes of translation, and designed 'improvements' of the text by accommodation and addition, make this the very worst text that has ever been discovered,—which excessive badness is, we apprehend, the cause that no other copies of the same 'recension' are known,—yet it has a value of the very highest kind, from the agreement of the readings of the text which forms the basis of these variations, with those of other ancient copies, readings which are found recorded in so few documents, that every additional evidence of their being current in early times is most valuable.

From what we have said of the Vatican MS., it will be apparent, that a reading, in which one MS. differs from all other texts, may well be supposed to be attributable to a mistake of the individual copyist who transcribed that particular MS. But let the same reading be found in an entirely independent quarter, it becomes improbable, in a greater or less degree according to the nature of each case, that the reading in which they agree is accidental. A common source, from which each derived this reading, becomes the probable mode of accounting for it. Let a third independent witness be found, and the fact that the reading was once current in ancient times is proved.

Let the first be a Latin version; the second, a Greek MS. fragment; the third, an ancient Syriac translation; and the reading in question takes its place in the class of undoubted ancient readings.

There are also in this MS. readings, of the antiquity of which there is positive historical record. For instance, S. Matt. i. 18, 'The birth of Christ was on this wise.' S. Irenæus argues on this reading as contrasted with what it might have been,—'The birth of Jesus.' The common texts have 'Jesus Christ'; the Vatican, 'Christ Jesus'; the *only* text known to have 'Christ,' besides the Vulgate and old Latin, was the Latin of the Codex Bezae; which, being an exact translation of the Greek, which is wanting here, raises a fair inference that it read the same. 'Christ' is found in the MS. before us. Again, Origen distinctly said that the 4th and 5th verses of the 5th chapter of S. Matthew were in a reverse order to that with which we are familiar, the blessing on 'the meek' coming before that on 'the mourners.' That order is now *only* found in *two* Greek MSS., the Codex Bezae, and a cursive MS. It is found in the old Latin versions, and in Jerome's Vulgate; and we can now say it is found in *this* Syriac MS. We also find in it the reading which Origen attests as the ancient reading in S. Matt. xix. 17:—*τι με ἐρωτᾶς περὶ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ;* instead of 'Why callest thou Me good?'

Such is the true critical value of these Syriac Gospels. Their text is remarkably composite; still it is an ancient witness to many readings which hitherto had been found only in few authorities. It has very, very many readings of its own (from parts of one Gospel being introduced into another, &c.). It has many readings and passages which agree with the *later* texts: for instance, it has (with the omission of 'the power') the Doxology at the end of the Lord's Prayer, in S. Matthew, chap. vi. It once had the concluding verses of S. Mark's Gospel, though four only are now left. In the Lord's Prayer, in S. Luke, it has the words *ἡμῶν, οἱ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς*, and 'But deliver us from evil;' agreeing with the mass of later MSS. including D., against B. (the Vatican MS.). Its basis, however, appears to be the texts of B. and D. Of its agreement with B. we have already given some instances; others are such as these:—Luke xi. 3: 'Thy will be done, as in heaven, so on earth,' omitted, with B. and Jerome. But the most remarkable are its agreements with D., the Codex Bezae; inasmuch as the text there preserved departs most widely, and chiefly in the way of addition, from the usual text. This is one of those texts which some transcribers seem to have 'improved,' by introducing matter which is not found in any other Greek MS. But many of its readings are found in the Latin versions that were extant before the time of Jerome; and many of the same readings are

found in this Syriac. This version contains (for instance) the remarkable addition in the twentieth chapter of S. Matthew's Gospel, after the 28th verse:—

' But you, seek ye that from little things ye may become great, and not from great things may become little. Whenever ye are invited to the house of a supper, be not sitting down in the honoured place, lest should come he that is more honoured than thou, and to thee the Lord of the supper should say, Come near below, and thou be ashamed in the eyes of the guests. But if thou sit down in the little place, and he that is less than thee should come, and to thee the Lord of the supper shall say, Come near, and come up and sit down, thou also shalt have more glory in the eyes of the guests.'

The first clause is taken probably from tradition, the latter part is substantially the same as S. Luke, c. xiv. (This extract will afford a specimen of Dr. Cureton's very literal translation; we regret that our space does not allow us to give more.)

We select and abridge the following instances of agreement from Dr. Cureton's notes on a few chapters of S. Luke:—

' Luke xxiv. 1. D., Old Latin *a, b, c*,¹ and this Syr., omit ἀρώματα.

' 40. "and when He had said this, He shewed them His hands and His feet," omitted by D., Old Latin *a, b*, and this Syriac.

' Luke xxiii. 37. "Peace to thee," Syr.; χάιρε, D.; "Ave," Old Latin *c*; "and they had set upon His head a crown of thorns," inserted (probably from S. Matt. xxvii. 29) in this Syr., in D., and the Old Latin *c*.

' Luke xxii. 4. καὶ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς omitted as in D. and Old Latin *a, b, c*.

' 7. The day of the Passover (instead of unleavened bread). So D. and Old Latin *a, b*.

' Luke xx. 17, placed after v. 19, as in Codex D.

' 34. "The children of this world beget and are begotten," with the Old Latin *a, c*, confirmed by Origen and Cyprian, and other fathers: the order of the additional words only being varied.

' Luke xix. 25. "They say unto him, Lord, he hath ten pounds," omitted, with D. and the Old Latin *b*.

It is, we think, very unfortunate that Dr. Cureton has put forward the theory that the Gospel according to S. Matthew, in this Syriac text, is a representation of the original Gospel of the first Evangelist, of which our Greek Gospel is only a translation. It is unfortunate, because it turns away the thoughts of scholars from the real uses which this publication subserves, to discussions about a view which after all must prove wholly unsubstantial. The version has a considerable value as a contribution to the criticism of the New Testament, but being rated above its true value, and on an unreal ground, it falls in a corresponding degree below its proper esteem; and persons being persuaded of the untenable character, if we may so speak, of Dr. Cureton's claims on its behalf, will set it aside as valueless.

¹ Those of our readers who are not familiar with MS. notation, are to understand that *a, b, c, &c.* in Italics, represent the MSS. of the Old Latin Versions, which were made before the time of Jerome, and continued in use for some centuries after. The earliest, *a*, is said to be in the handwriting of S. Eusebius of Vercelli, the friend of S. Athanasius; and represents the Gospels in Latin at the same date as the Vatican MS. does in Greek.

The whole weight of this argument rests on the supposed high probability, the almost certainty, that *if S. Matthew wrote his Gospel originally in Aramaic, that Gospel in its original language would be taken into the Syriac Canon*, rather than a re-translation from the Greek.

That S. Matthew did write his Gospel originally in Aramaic, Dr. Cureton holds to be certain, from the concurrent statements of the early writers, from Papias to Jerome. He even suggests that our translation into Greek was later than the formation of the Syriac Canon of the Gospels. He argues for the early date of that Canon, and the late date of the Greek Version (as he conceives it to be) of S. Matthew. Yet he maintains the theory of Bishop Marsh and Michaelis, now, we suppose, generally exploded, that there was an Aramaic original from which our first three Greek Gospels were derived. To that theory, however, it is absolutely essential to maintain that the Greek of S. Matthew was prior to the composition of the Gospels of S. Mark and S. Luke, so that one part of Dr. Cureton's scheme destroys another.

There can be no doubt, we conceive, on the mind of any careful student of the text of the Gospels, that the Greek of S. Matthew was a very early work: very little doubt that it was prior to S. Mark and S. Luke, and that it is *not* a translation from the Aramaic.

The prevalent tradition about the Hebrew of S. Matthew, which was apparently grounded on reports only, may have had some foundation: there may have been some such composition of his, which may have been the basis of his own later Greek Gospel. But the Hebrew Gospel of S. Matthew, of which we hear so much among the Fathers, was a spurious work, in the possession of heretics, about which they told various stories that were believed (more or less) by others. The age in which S. Jerome saw a Hebrew Gospel at Cæsarea, which he translated into Greek and Latin, but of which he afterwards speaks with distrust, was one of no little credulity as to relics of all kinds; and the Hebrew-speaking Christians, though heretical, professed to be the representatives of the Judæo-Christian body, and as such to have always preserved this Gospel.

It was, however, (except, at first, by Jerome,) repudiated by all the great Fathers who mentioned it. It seems to have had much in it that was foolish, but not heretical, and to have been made up out of our Greek Gospels; as we think any one will recognise who reads the copious extracts from it in Epiphanius, on the Ebionites, or in S. Jerome, as they are brought together by Fabricius, or by Jones on the Canon. Nay, we apprehend that there is evidence that this supposed Hebrew original of S. Matthew was itself really a translation (in parts at least)

from the Greek : as in describing the food of the Baptist, it said it was 'wild honey, and cakes made with honey and oil,' reading, or mistaking ἄκριδες (locusts) for, ἔγκριδες, which is the Septuagint word for the wafers made with honey, which the manna is said to have been like in taste. (Exod. xvi. 31.)

Anyhow, the basis of Dr. Cureton's theory is most precarious, and it is, we conceive, entirely overthrown by the internal evidence which his Syriac S. Matthew itself contains, of its being a translation from the Greek, and of its being evidently altered in those places in which it is peculiar in its readings. If, however, the Ebionite and Nazarene Gospels, from which the ancients give citations, be, as Dr. Cureton supposes, based on the original Gospel of S. Matthew, and this Syriac is *in substance* that Gospel, it is almost certain that we should find correspondences between them.

And such Dr. Cureton thinks that he does find. But with a candour which does him honour, he enumerates the whole series of citations and references made to these Hebrew documents, and exhibits to us the astonishing paucity of the points of agreement. These citations are twenty-seven in number; and some of them are very long extracts, occupying altogether five octavo pages, as we have them in Jones on the Canon. Any one who wishes fairly to judge of the evidence on this point should read those extracts ; he will then see their length and language, and perceive how very minute is the correspondence which Dr. Cureton discovers. i. Jerome said that in the Hebrew he read (Matt. ii. 1) *Juda*, which is in this Syriac ; not *Judaea*, which is in the Greek. ii. Hegesippus is said by Eusebius to have cited from the Hebrew and Syriac, and he quotes Matt. xiii. 16, μακάριοι οἱ ὄφθαλμοι ὑμῶν οἱ βλέποντες, καὶ τὰ ὡτα ὑμῶν τὰ ἀκούοντα, which we have in this Syriac. iii. iv. Jerome cites the Gospel according to the Hebrews, as saying, that the Holy Spirit at our Lord's Baptism *rested* on Him, and (which Epiphanius also states) that the words spoken from Heaven were, 'Thou art,' &c. as it is here, when the Greek of S. Matthew is, 'This is,' &c. But these are, like innumerable other instances, adaptations to the other Gospels : to S. John i. where the Baptist testifies so strongly to the fact ἐμεινεν ἐπ' αὐτῶν ; and to S. Mark and S. Luke, where the words are Οὐτός ἐστιν ὁ νιός μου. v. He cites our Lord's words, Matt. xviii. 21, 'Simon said unto Him.' The Greek is Πέτρος. This text has *Simon Cepha*. vi. Epiphanius further cites the Gospel according to the Hebrews as having '*the river Jordan*', in a place corresponding to Matt. iii. 6, where the Greek, *Dr. Cureton says*, has τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ only : but the Greek of B. C. (first hand) and some other MSS. and all the versions (except the Latin ones) have ποτάμῳ : and this is held by some to be the

true reading of the Greek. But this Syriac has ‘the river Jordan,’ not only in this place, but in the previous verse, and in ch. iv. 15, and, as Dr. Cureton says, ‘generally.’ Now, if this, occurring in one place, is an argument for identity with the Gospel according to the Hebrews, it is a much stronger argument to show that neither of them represents S. Matthew’s original writing; as in Judæa, the addition of ‘the river’ to Jordan would be quite superfluous. This is one of the many evidences against Dr. Cureton.

That the correspondence is so very slight, so almost nothing, is, to our minds, decisive against Dr. Cureton’s theory; and, if evidence to the contrary were wanted, it will be found in two testing points, one of which is, indeed, altogether fatal to the theory. i. S. Jerome says that the Hebrew Gospel, in the Lord’s Prayer, has for ‘daily bread’ יֻמִּים, ‘to-morrow’—tomorrow’s bread—*panem nostrum crastinum da nobis hodie*. This Syriac has ‘constant of the day.’ Dr. Cureton fails to reconcile them, and suggests that the Syriac has been altered to make it agree with the Greek. ii. S. Jerome also says that the Hebrew Gospel agreed with the Hebrew, not with the Septuagint, in its citations from the Old Testament.¹ This, we conceive, S. Matthew’s original Hebrew, supposing its existence, would be likely to do. But this is not the case in this Syriac; indeed, very much the contrary.

We are sorry here to have to assert the negative of Dr. Cureton’s statement, that ‘Whenever there is any difference between them, as they occur in this text and the Greek of S. Matthew, they always come nearer in the Syriac to the Hebrew original than they do in the Greek.’

In the first chapter the citations differ more from the Hebrew than those of our Greek, e.g. ‘And His name shall be called Emmanuel,’ where our Greek is, ‘they shall call;’ the Hebrew of Isaiah, ‘she shall call,’ the LXX. ‘thou shalt call.’ And, further, we read, ‘Emmanuel, which is interpreted, Our God with us;’ (why the words ‘which is interpreted,’ &c. should appear in a supposed original Aramaic Gospel at all, needs explanation: we should certainly suppose them to be originally Greek; however) the Hebrew in Isaiah viii. 8, has simply ‘Immanuel,’ the LXX. translate the word, Μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ Θεός, and the Greek

¹ S. Jerome’s instances are curious enough, since there are no known differences between the common Greek of S. Matthew and the Hebrew in the places he refers to. He says (de Viris Illust. c. 3), ‘Ubiunque Evangelista, sive ex persona sua, sive ex persona Domini Salvatoris, Veteris Scripturae testimonialis abutitur, non sequatur Septuaginta translatorum auctoritatem, sed Hebraicam, e quibus illa duo sunt: “Ex Egypto vocavi filium meum,” et “Quoniam Nazareus vocabitur.”’ It is hard to say where the Hebrew of the latter quotation is to be found. The Septuagint of the former quotation is *filios meos*; but no known text of S. Matthew has the plural.

of S. Matthew follows this. This Syriac also inserts the interpretation, and no one, we think, can doubt that it takes them from the Greek, translating the article in ὁ Θεὸς, 'our God;' for there is no 'our' in 'Emmanuel.'

In c. ii. 5, 6, the Hebrew and the LXX. have 'Thou Bethlehem Ephratah:' the Greek Gospel of S. Matthew, 'Bethlehem, γῆ Ἰουδὰ' (a change which might be accounted for in a Greek Gospel intended to be read beyond Judæa): but the Syriac only departs from this by omitting γῆ; and, substituting Juda for Judæa, has simply 'Bethlehem-Juda.' Where the Hebrew and LXX. have 'the thousands of Judah,' the Greek of S. Matthew has 'the rulers of Judah,' the Syriac, 'the kingdom of Judah.' In the οὐδαμῶς εἰ, for 'though thou be little,' it agrees with the Greek, not the Hebrew.

We take these instances because they are the first that meet us. In Matt. ii. 18, the Syriac, *with the best Greek MSS.*, omits καὶ κλαυθμὸς, therein being nearer the Hebrew than the recent (altered) Greek text. In Matt. iii. 3, it has for αὐτοῦ, (the paths) 'of our God:' therein agreeing with the LXX. as well as the Hebrew, but probably, as in so many other places, altering the text to harmonize it with the old reading (of D. &c.) in Mark i. 3. In the quotation iv. 15, it departs from the Greek Gospel and both the V. T. authorities, by putting 'the river' before Jordan, and omitting 'the region,' and inserting 'great' before the second 'light.' In c. xii. 21, where the citation is made by the Evangelist, not by our Lord, the Syriac agrees with the Greek of S. Matthew, against both Hebrew and Septuagint, in the words, 'I will put My Spirit:' it departs from *all* by having, 'that He may preach judgment,' and by substituting 'shall not be broken,' and 'shall not be quenched,' for 'shall He not break,' 'shall He not quench:' it agrees with the Greek of S. Matthew in, 'send forth judgment unto victory,' instead of 'bring forth judgment unto truth' of the Hebrew and Septuagint, and agrees with both Greek authorities in, 'In His Name shall the Gentiles trust,' instead of 'The isles shall wait for His law.' In xiii. 14, it has the reading 'ye shall hear,' when there was an ancient Greek reading of ἀκούσατε agreeing with the Hebrew. It is probably unnecessary for us to pursue the investigation: there is nothing to allege on the other side.

Further evidence, altogether destructive of this theory, will, we apprehend, incidentally appear in the course of our examination of the Syriac Text; which we wish to pursue simply, without any reference to this argument, as we conceive the effect of such reference is very injurious, by diverting the attention of a student from an investigation of the simple facts of the text in its bearings on the criticism of the New Testament.

Dr. Cureton conceives, as may well be supposed, that in this

Syriac MS., the Gospel of S. Matthew is by a different hand from the other three Gospels, which, of course, are translations from the Greek. He does not, however, give *any evidence whatever of this assertion*; and we shall, therefore, not hesitate to speak generally of the characteristics of the whole work, as if it were one, unless there be need to distinguish between the Gospels.

The language of the text is more rude than that of our present printed text of the Peshito, which has hitherto been supposed, in accordance with the statements of the Syriac writers themselves, to be the original Syriac Version, made at least as early as the second century. That Dr Cureton is right in supposing that the style of the Peshito has been modernised, we cannot doubt. The very fact that it was the received translation, read in the churches, would make it natural that it should be modernised: just as in the case of our own successive versions, and Dr. Blayney's editing in the last century; and in churches more free than our own, this may have been carried on to a much greater extent. We can, therefore, well admit that in point of language this text does represent an earlier condition than the printed Peshito. What is needed for a satisfactory investigation of the subject is, an examination of the oldest MSS. of the Peshito, which would probably exhibit many grades of transition between the two. We are speaking now of *language only*. As to the *text* of the MS. we shall presently have to give our judgment. Whether that of the Peshito has or has not been modernised, and to what extent, by adaptation to the later received text of the Greek Church, is one of the most important questions, perhaps the most important, to be settled in the controversy between the value of most ancient uncial and the cursive texts: and it deserves a most careful investigation, specially by the examination of the readings in the Syriac Fathers.

Perhaps the most simple course we can take is to examine the readings of this MS. in a continuous passage. We will begin with the first chapter of S. Matthew.

In v. 6, the authorities are divided between 'David begat Solomon,' and 'David the king begat Solomon.' This Syriac agrees with the Peshito, and both with the Vatican MS. and an ancient cursive, in omitting 'the king.'

In v. 8, this Syriac, with the Ethiopic and the Latin Codex Vercellensis, inserts the three successions, 'Ahaziah, Joash, and Amaziah,' which do not occur in any other copies. That these are unauthorized insertions, originally made by an 'improver,' we cannot doubt, inasmuch as they testify against themselves by retaining in v. 17 'all the generations . . . from David to 'the carrying away into captivity were fourteen generations.' Dr. Cureton gives a very interesting extract from 'Dionysius

'Bar Salibi, who compiled a commentary upon the Scriptures from earlier writers in the twelfth century.' This is a sort of Syriac 'Poole's Synopsis,' which collects the various theories devised by different writers to account for the omission of these three names: one of these, George of the Gentiles, says (the value of his statement may be estimated by the necessities of his theory), that S. Matthew inserted these three, and wrote *seventeen* where we have *fourteen*, in v. 17. That Syriac copies existed, agreeing with this, is stated by others cited by Bar Salibi: 'Others say, &c. . . . for there is found occasionally a 'Syriac copy made out of the Hebrew which inserts these three 'kings in the genealogy; but that it afterwards speaks of four- 'teen and not seventeen generations, is because fourteen genera- 'tions has been substituted for seventeen by the Hebrews, on 'account of their holding to the septenary number, because on 'the fourteenth they were delivered from the bondage of the 'Egyptians.' These merely conjectural statements of Syriac commentators, who wished to reconcile the genealogy in S. Matthew with that in the Old Testament, Dr. Cureton seems to believe. He says: 'According to the text of this copy, which introduces the three kings omitted in the Greek, the number from David to the captivity ought to be seventeen races or generations, instead of fourteen. George of the Gentiles, cited above, says that Matthew did write here originally seventeen; and, indeed, the two words in the Hebrew character, שְׁבָעֵשֶׂר שְׁבָעֵשֶׂר, are sufficiently similar to have easily caused such an error, especially when one of them in either case must have occurred twice.' (P. xii.) We need make no observation on this. It supposes that a mistake, made so early and so universally and so foolishly (for as long as the three generations continued there was a discrepancy manifest to every one), pervaded every copy of the Gospel, whether in Greek or Aramaic; and supposes a further falsification of the genealogy by omitting these three names, made to reconcile the variation, while the true words remain only in these few old copies. Is it not more reasonable to believe that the names were inserted by this Syriac; the more so when it is its usage so to improve the text?

In verse 16 this copy has, 'Jacob begat Joseph, *to whom was espoused Mary the Virgin, which bare Jesus the Christ.*' It will be observed that there are four distinct variations from the received text, which runs, 'Joseph the husband of Mary, of whom was born Jesus, which is called Christ'—*Înσoῦς ὁ λεγόμενος Χριστός.* Now, these variations are ancient, widely spread, but not largely received, and we can have no hesitation in pronouncing that they are alterations of what the Evangelist wrote, and alterations made on doctrinal grounds. They are

found in the Codex Bezae (so far as the Latin, which alone is extant here, is evidence); and in the Ante-Hieronymian Latin (as its best MSS. show); and partially in the Armenian and Memphitic versions. The object of the alterations is manifestly shown by an extract from the spurious Protevangelium of James, cited by Dr. Cureton, in which Joseph is made to call S. Mary his *espoused*, but to deny that she was his *wife*.

v. 18. This verse, as we have noticed above, affords a remarkable evidence to a *known* ancient reading. Here is an instance of the preservation of a reading which alone seems to have been known to S. Irenæus, and which was afterwards lost from almost all the MSS. and versions.

In the same verse, with the most ancient authorities, this Syriac omits the γὰρ in μνηστευθείσης [γὰρ] τῆς μητρὸς: and, we apprehend, correctly.

v. 19. For 'But Joseph *being* a righteous man *and* not wishing,' the Syriac has 'because he *was* a righteous man, did not wish' (the Ethiopic version *alone* is like this Syriac, both thus translating the Greek διὸ) 'to make *her* a public example:' for *her*, our Syriac *alone* has 'Mary'; a clear alteration of the original.

v. 20. 'But while he thought on these things, *behold*,' (this and the Harclean Syr. and old Latin Codex Vercell. *alone* omit 'behold,') 'the angel of the Lord appeared to *him*' (for 'him' our Syriac *alone* has 'Joseph'); afterwards for 'Mary thy wife,' 'thine *espoused*,' is the substitution in the Syriac.

v. 21. 'That which *is to be* born in *her*,' in the future (which seems to us an alteration under the view of improvement for the Greek τὸ γεννηθὲν), is found only here, in the old Latin, and the Ethiopic: 'is *conceived* of the Holy Ghost:' the insertion of this word 'conceived,' by way of explanation, is in this Syriac *alone*.

v. 22. This Syriac has, 'And she shall bear *for thee* a son;' (the words 'for thee' are inserted in this copy *alone*); 'and His name *shall be called*' (every other known text has 'thou shalt call His Name') 'Jesus: for He shall save the world from its sins.' Every other known text has 'His people from their sins.' Dr. Cureton says—'The variation must have arisen from the similarity of לְמַמָּלֵךְ and מַמָּלֵךְ.' It is of course probable enough that Syriac transcribers have made the mistake, but we hope we are not expected to believe that the Greek translator of S. Matthew's Aramaic Gospel made it; and that the whole Christian world, from that time to this, except those who have the privilege of using this one Syriac copy, and those earliest copies through which S. Matthew's words were correctly handed down, have been mistaken in the true reading; or that the sacred text was so carelessly

translated in the apostolic age, and so little regard paid to those words which, we must suppose, were written in every heart that knew the name of JESUS, that the blunder of the ignorant and careless translator into Greek was never discovered.

v. 22. 'But all this was done,' &c. This Syriac alone omits δόλον. We say *alone*, because we cannot argue from the word being not found in two places of Irenaeus, that his copies did not contain it, as it might easily be omitted accidentally; and it is found in a third passage (iv. 23, 1.) not noticed by critical editors of the N. T.

'By the mouth of Isaiah the prophet.' 'The mouth of' is an insertion of this Syriac alone (imitating the διὰ στόματος of S. Luke: Luke i. 70; Acts i. 16; iii. 18, 21; iv. 25); all other documents have διὰ simply.—'Isaiah;' here is a great divergence of authorities; διὰ τοῦ προφήτου on one side, διὰ Ἡσαΐου τοῦ προφήτου on the other. This Syriac, with the Harclean and Jerusalem Syriacs, the Armenian, and the Ante-Hieronymian Latin, accord with the Codex Bezae in inserting the name: the rest of the authorities omit it. It is an *ancient* but a *bad* reading.

23. 'They shall call His name,' is the Greek; 'His name shall be called' is the Syriac. We ask:—Which of these more truly represents S. Matthew's words? Surely 'they shall call' is the Hebraistic expression, which is preserved so often in the Gospels: 'shall be called' is a paraphrastic translation, like that of our Authorized Version in Luke xii. 20, 'this night shall thy soul be required;' where the original retains the Hebraism 'they shall require.' (We do not attribute all these changes to the Syriac translator; he may have found them in some Greek copies, 'of a recension' otherwise 'unknown.') 'Our God with us.' This insertion of 'our,' as we have said, is found in no other copy of the Scriptures; but 'Mar Yakub, the Persian,' so cites the passage! (Cureton, p. xii.)

24. The Syriac is 'and took Mary:' it *alone* substitutes 'Mary' for 'his wife.'

25. 'And dwelt purely with her' (thus this Syriac *alone* paraphrases 'knew her not') 'until she bare the son,' τὸν νιὸν; so the Memphitic: νιὸν simply, 'a son' (omitting the words 'her first-born'), is the reading of B., Z., some early versions, and some MSS. of the Ante-Hieronymian Latin. It is a case where there is a fair balance of evidence, though we *incline* to believe the word πρωτότοκον genuine. The omission of the word seems to belong to the same class of alterations as we have seen pervade this Syriac and other documents in this chapter. It will not call Joseph the husband, or Mary the wife: it inserts 'the Virgin' in v. 18; and prefers saying ἐγέννησεν rather than ἐξ ἦς ἐγέννηθη.

As to the variation in the former part of the verse, we should only observe, that the Greek *οὐκ ἔγνω* almost certainly represents what S. Matthew wrote; and that the Syriac ‘dwelt purely with her,’ is an explanatory paraphrase; particularly as many similar paraphrases occur throughout the Gospel.

And we think it will appear from this verse, and from the whole of the chapter, that the Syriac is translated from the Greek, not the Greek from the Syriac. Indeed, on this whole subject, we could not better describe the Gospel of S. Matthew, than in the words of Dr. Cureton in regard to the other three Gospels. There are unmistakable evidences of translation; and that, by one who did not well understand the idiom, or force of words, in the language from which he was translating. And there are many similar indications throughout the Gospel. Thus, in ch. iii. 4, *μελὶ ἄγριον* is translated ‘honey of the field;’ xviii. 6, *μύλος ὄνικός*, ‘a millstone of an ass;’ iii. 13, *ἄφες ἄρτι*, ‘Leave what is now;’ 14, *τότε ἀφίησω αὐτὸν*, ‘then he left Him to be baptized;’ the last three words being, as usual in this translation, added for explanation’s sake. Again, in the fifth chapter we have, v. 13, *ἔὰν δὲ τὸ ἄλας μωρανθῇ*, ‘but if the salt become insipid and foolish;’ an evident attempt to preserve the double meaning of the Greek. So, ‘What seemeth to thee, Simon?’ a clear translation of *τί δοκεῖ σοι*; a Greek, not an Aramaic phrase. In ch. xv. 2, *τῶν πρεσβυτέρων*, ‘the aged;’ *θανάτῳ τελευτάτῳ*, ‘shall be slain’ (we need scarcely ask which of these more nearly represents an Aramaic original); 5, *κορβᾶν, δὲ ἔαν ἐξ ἐμοῦ ὡφεληθῆς*, ‘My offering, thou shalt be benefited from me;’ and ch. xi. 6, where there was the same difficulty from the Greek *ὅς ἔαν*, for *μακάριος ὅς ἔαν μὴ σκανδαλισθῇ ἐν ἐμοὶ*, we have, ‘and happy he (*ὅς*), unless he shall be offended in me;’ and xx. 25, ‘great ones are authorized over them;’ for *κατεξουσιάζουσιν αὐτῶν*. Surely these are sufficient evidence of ignorant translation.

The arrangement of the words, too, in the Syriac is ordinarily identical with that of the Greek: evidently the effect of an attempt at the most closely exact translation.

Further, whilst it ordinarily observes very carefully the words of the Greek, the Syriac not unfrequently indulges in paraphrases. We have seen one in ch. i. ult. and in ch. v. 13. In ch. xxii. 30, there is one which we give in Dr. Cureton’s words:—‘For in the vivification of the dead, the men take ‘not women, neither are women unto men, but as the angels ‘are they of heaven.’ Again, for ‘To God all things are possible,’ xix. 26, ‘God is able to do everything.’ The substitution of passives for actives, and *vice versa*, is common throughout the Gospels.

Again, there are many brief explanatory additions to the

text; as, Matt. ii. 18, instead of ‘Rachel weeping,’ this Syriac has ‘*the voice of Rachel*,’ &c.; and v. 20, ‘were seeking the ‘life of the boy to take it away;’ v. 23, ‘and he came *thither*,’ &c.; iii. 5, ‘*the children of Jerusalem*;’ xvi. 19, ‘I will give ‘unto thee the keys of *the gates* of the Kingdom of Heaven.’ We have marked the added words in italics.

It also abounds in explanatory clauses, as in some degree is exemplified in the extracts we have made from the first chapter. They are the sort of clauses which might naturally be introduced by a translator; but which, on the other hand, if they existed in the original, would scarcely have been omitted in a translation.

There is another peculiarity in this Syriac form of the Gospel, to which we alluded above as common to all the Gospels, which Dr. Cureton singularly turns to the account of his own argument, *i.e.* the numerous instances of words and clauses inserted from the other Gospels, or adaptations of St. Matthew’s narrative (as we receive it) to that of the other Evangelists. The same peculiarity is found in this version of S. Mark and S. Luke (and, though of course in a minor degree, in S. John). The natural and *prima facie* explanation is the same in all the three cases: viz. that the editor, for so we must call him, wished to send out an improved form of the Gospels. Whatever be the account of the fact in the other Gospels would seem naturally to be the account of it in that of S. Matthew. Some instances are these: In S. Matt. iii. 7, the Syriac has, ‘But when he saw the Publicans and the Pharisees,’ &c. (come to his baptism). S. Luke, c. iii. records that the Publicans came to the Baptist, but the insertion of the word here (which is only found in this copy) makes what follows, where they are addressed as ‘generation of vipers,’ scarcely consistent with the ordinary tone of the New Testament. Again, ch. iv. 11: ‘Then the devil departed from Him *for a season*,’ from S. Luke iv. 13. Then, ch. iv. 24: ‘And He *laid His hands on them, and healed them*:’ the words in italics being taken from Luke iv. 40. Then in the Sermon on the Mount (ch. v. 12): ‘But you, rejoice and be glad *in that day*, because your reward is great in heaven; for so *their fathers* persecuted the prophets which were before you.’ Both the additions are from S. Luke vi. 23. To pass to another place (only reminding our readers that these departures from the received text are absolutely peculiar to this ‘recension’): ch. x. 23, ‘Before My Father, which is in heaven, *and before His angels*,’ from S. Luke xii. 9. Instead of ‘Think not that ‘I came to send peace on the earth: I came not to send peace, ‘but a sword:’ we have, ‘I came not to send peace on the ‘earth, but *division of wills and the sword*.’ See S. Luke xii. 51. διαμερισμόν.

Such additions occur *passim*. Dr. Cureton accounts for them by supposing that they are genuine portions of the original Aramaic document which S. Matthew wrote and which the other Evangelists used; that they are therefore derived from S. Matthew into the other Gospels, *but have been omitted by the person who translated the Gospel into Greek*. We leave the comparative probability of the omission or insertion of such clauses (considering that the Syriac, as appears from the other Gospels, had a way of making such additions to the text) to the common sense of our readers.

To our minds the whole theory is absolutely groundless, and it is incompatible with all that antiquity does record, be it true or false, about the professedly original Aramaic Gospel of S. Matthew: for if that original were preserved in the Syriac, surely it would have been known, recognised, boasted of, preserved from alteration, and held most sacred. But amid all the stories of the original Hebrew Gospel of S. Matthew, whether as found by Pantænus in India, or seen by Jerome at Cæsarea, no one gives a hint that it was in ordinary use, and a part of the *Evangelia* actually read in the Syrian churches.

We turn now to the third work before us—the edition of the *Codex Augiensis* by Mr. Scrivener, and our first feeling on contrasting it with what we have been handling, is that of relief. It is a real relief, after the melancholy spectacle of Mai's edition of the Vatican MS., to see the accuracy, the neatness, the truthfulness, with which this less ancient but very curious MS. has been edited.

The *Codex Augiensis* is a MS. of S. Paul's Epistles, written most probably in the west of Europe, in the ninth century. It had the Greek and Latin in parallel columns: but the Latin is of a different text from the Greek; it represents, for the most part, a very good text of Jerome's version, but with some evidences of assimilation to the Ante-Hieronymian Latin. In these respects the Latin portion of this MS. is a most curious work, and well worthy of being printed and examined. The Latin is given alone where there is a *lacuna* in the Greek; and in the Epistle to the Hebrews. The Greek is full of mistakes: and the points which are introduced to divide the words are very often placed in the middle of a word, the transcriber evidently not understanding Greek. So also when the Latin varies from the Greek, or when from any cause there may be a difficulty as to its meaning, a Latin word is inserted (though probably by a later hand) between the lines of the Greek.

It may be interesting to our readers to see some specimens of these variations, and of the readings of the MS. in some other places. They differ, for instance, in the text, 1 Tim. iii. 16.

The Latin is, 'Quod manifestum est in carne,' &c., representing the known reading still extant in the Codex Bezae, ὃ ἐφανερώθη; the Greek, οσ . εφανηρωθη . εν . σαρκι. (Of the cursive MSS. examined by Mr. Scrivener, one has ὃ θεος, eleven have θεος, one is silent.)

In Rom. v. 1, the Latin is, 'Justificati igitur exfide | pacem habeamus | addim per dominum | ; the Greek, ἵρηνην. εχομεν. (Of the cursive MSS. examined, three agree with the Latin in having ἔχωμεν, four have ἔχομεν.)

In 1 Cor. xv. 51, 'Behold, I shew you a mystery,' &c., the Latin has, 'Omnis | quidem resurgemus . sed non omnes | immutabimur.' The Greek, παντεσ . | μενον . κοιμηθη . σωμεθα . ον | παντεσ . δε . αλλα . γησομεθα . εν . | , with dormiemus written over κοιμηθη . σωμεθα. (The cursives agree with the received text.)

In 1 Cor. xi. 24, the Latin is, 'Hoc est corpus meum quod | pro vobis tradetur ;' the Greek, το . | υπερ . υμων . κλωμενον, with 'frangetur' written over the κλωμενον.

In Gal. iii. 19, the Latin is, 'Quid igitur? Lex | propter transgressionem posita est ;' the Greek, τι . ουν . ο . νομοσ . | των . πραξιαων . ετεθη . αχρι &c., which is the reading followed in the old Latin Versions.

The MS. has been admirably edited by Mr. Scrivener. We cannot speak in too high terms of the manner of execution. It is not a *fac-simile*, but represents, in common cursive Greek characters, every letter of the original. Persons who are not familiar with the spelling of MSS. would be surprised to read the Greek which is here presented to us. The contractions, the itacisms, the mistakes of letters, the wrong divisions of words, the strange spellings, present a puzzling picture to those who are acquainted only with the long-established orthography of Greek, as well as the settled uniform text. *e.g.* Eph. iii. 1, a very easy specimen, stands thus :—

οντον . χαριν . εγω . πανλοσ . ο	hujus rei gratia ego paulus
δεσμοσ . του . χρι . ώπερ . υμων .	vinctus xpi ihu. provobis *
των . εθνων . ειγη . ηκουσαται . την	gentibus si tamen audistis dispen-
οικονομιαν . του . θν . τας . χαρι	sationem gratiae di
τοσ . τησ . δοθεισ . ησμοι ; εισ . υμωσ .	quae data est mihi invobis.

It will be manifest how great care must have been required to represent faithfully these peculiarities ; which are correctly represented here.

The transcript, as we stated before, was compared *six times* with the original before it was submitted to the reader. Very brief notes are subjoined, indicating the alterations which appear to have been made in the MS. in any place, as by erasure, or by a second hand, and supplying any other necessary information. At the bottom of the pages are noted the varia-

tions of the Codex Boernerianus, a MS. probably transcribed from the same copy as this MS.; (as appears, for instance, from the lacunæ in the two being the same) but generally avoiding its blunders.

A very neat photograph of the page containing 1 Tim. iii. 16 is prefixed. The whole work is admirably executed, and a very modest and useful preface gives the history and characteristics of the Codex.

The great use of having a MS. thus represented can only be appreciated by those who have had to puzzle out the reading of any given MS. or MSS. in a complicated passage, from the heap of *variae Lectiones* subjoined to such an edition as Tischendorf's. The trouble is infinite, the confidence that one is right precarious, and in the process of eliciting the true reading of the MSS. in any continuous passage, your appreciation of its meaning is lost. But in Mr. Scrivener's work, allowing for the puzzle and hindrance of its orthography and its mistakes, you can read any passage of an Epistle continuously, almost as you would a modern Greek Testament. The advantage this gives us is very great, and we should be thankful if other MSS. were similarly edited. Mr. Scrivener's work in this respect is unique. It does not preserve the uncial characters in *fac-simile*, as Woide did, nor in modern forms, as Tischendorf has most uselessly done, both which methods make their works very hard to read. On the other hand, it has not modernised the spelling, or kept out of sight the mistakes of the copyist.

Besides the excellent representation of this MS. Mr. Scrivener has given his collations of more than fifty cursive MSS., and has thus confirmed the truth of what his former labours had elicited, that a cursive MS. is by no means to be supposed to follow the text throughout, which from a cursory inspection of some portion of it we might have anticipated. These collations are printed in large and clear type, and are very easy to use. A detailed account of the MSS. thus collated is annexed to the preface.

Lastly, there is prefixed to the whole a remarkably clear, candid, and temperate discussion of the subject of 'comparative criticism ;' and of the value to be attached to MSS. of different periods : of the question whether the few ancient are to preponderate over the very many recent MSS. This question has already been the subject of controversy between Mr. Scrivener and Dr. Tregelles, and we hope that the calm and moderate tone of this preface, and the justice of many of the observations it contains, may tend to promote an adjustment of the views of contending schools of critics. Each, we are disposed to think, has overstated its case. *e.g.* Of certain testing passages from S. Mark's Gospel, selected by Dr. Tregelles, on which Mr. Scri-

vener willingly joins issue, we should sometimes agree with one, sometimes with the other. On the one hand, there must be a precariousness in relying on one or two ancient authorities, *without strong independent grounds for following them*, against the great mass of more recent MSS. On the other hand, the recent MSS. cannot be followed anyhow without some real ancient authority on their side: although it is nevertheless certainly true and demonstrable that some *really* early readings have been preserved in later MSS., whilst no ancient document that contains them has been yet discovered. The Syriac version and A. in the Gospels are the stronghold of Mr. Scrivener. But we fear the former, if earlier MSS. are brought to light, may fail him: and that the latter is equal to B. in age, or in conformity to known ancient readings, cannot, we apprehend, be made good. B. is the stronghold of Mr. Scrivener's adversary.

In one place (note, p. xviii.) we think Mr. Scrivener has misapprehended the bearing of an observation of Dean Alford's. Mr. Scrivener says: 'Dean Alford had constructed the text of 'his first volume of the Greek Testament (first edition) on 'nearly the same plan as Tregelles would, and thoroughly was 'he dissatisfied with the result. "The adoption of that text," 'he writes with admirable frankness, "was, I do not hesitate to 'confess, *a great mistake*. It proceeded on altogether too high 'an estimate of the most ancient existing MSS., and too low 'an one of the importance of *internal evidence*.'" (N. T. ii. Proleg. p. 58.) The last italics are ours, and we think it important to observe that it is *internal evidence*, not the later MSS., which the Dean sets against the ancient MSS.

We are disposed generally to incline to the ancient MS. side; but we trust that the subject may be yet more thoroughly sifted; and that critics will be content with balancing probabilities, and admitting that, of two or three readings, each has some good evidence of being an ancient reading, without rashly deciding that one is exclusively *the* reading. The great difficulty to real progress on the subject of textual criticism is the practice of *constructing texts*; by which process a reading is introduced into the text, and thereby has an absolute and overwhelming preponderance of authority given to it; when, in reality, the balance of evidence between it and another reading is so slight, that, of two equally sound critics, one would decide in favour of this, the other in favour of that: nay, the same critic would decide differently, according to his state of mind, from hour to hour; and in successive editions would oscillate between one reading and the other. The method of Griesbach was free from these difficulties, as he could describe a reading as *aeque probabilis, indubie genuina, prorsus rejicienda, haud spernenda*, or by whatever other terms he indicated the precise

place of the reading (in his judgment) in the scale of probability. His mind was not warped by being obliged to decide absolutely when the evidence could only indicate probability; and then, what is still worse, be tempted by controversy to maintain as *certain*, the conclusion which to his own mind was only *just the more probable* of the two.

The changes of readings which the new edition of Tischendorf's Greek Testament presents, are a humbling lesson in this way; and teach us to be very cautious and very undogmatic in our decisions.

We omitted to mention in the body of this article one very serious departure from the Vatican MS. in Cardinal Mai's edition. It is probably well known that in that MS. the Epistles of S. Paul, being regarded as one, are divided by sections, numbered in the margin. In the MS. the Epistle to the Hebrews is placed as we have it after those to the Thessalonians; but *in the numbering of the sections* there is a gap between the Epistles to the Galatians and Ephesians, the last section in Galatians being 58, the first in Ephesians 70. We find the wanting numbers in the Epistle to the Hebrews: from which it is justly inferred, that in the copy from which the Vatican was derived, the Epistle to the Hebrews was placed between the Galatians and Ephesians—an evidence that it was regarded as an Epistle of S. Paul. Will it be believed that Cardinal Mai has altered these numbers? and has destroyed the evidence of an ancient record, which might have been interesting if only for its curiosity? The numbering in his edition goes on continuously from Galatians to Ephesians, and so forward, all the numbers, of course, being changed. At the end of Thessalonians is a note intimating what has been done, and saying it was thought best to do so, *ne sectionum numerationem absurde perturbatam exhiberemus!* In fact, there have been doubts raised, as to what the numbers exactly are (See Horne's Introduction, ed. Tregelles, p. 160, note 2); which doubts Mai might have removed by faithfully printing what is in the MS.: but he has increased the difficulty, for he puts NH at Galat. v. 16, and NΘ, incorrectly, we are sure, at vi. 1; for in a note at the end of 2 Thess. he says, the numerals to the Hebrews in the Codex are NΘ, Ξ, ΞΑ, &c. and from examining Bentley's collation we infer that this is the case, and that NΘ ought not to be in Galatians at all. In Mai's edition, the numbering Ξ, ΞΑ, &c. is carried on through Ephesians, and Hebrews is numbered continuously after 2 Thess. ΠΓ, ΠΔ, &c. Such childish tampering with a precious relic of antiquity is most grievous. It is clear the learned world cannot rest contented with such an edition as this.

NOTICES.

'THE Iliad of Homer.' Translated into Blank Verse, by Ichabod Charles Wright, M.A. Translator of Dante; late Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford. Books I. to VI. (Cambridge : Macmillan & Co.) These are not those palmy days of translation, when, if we may judge from old catalogues and bookstalls, all the world read Statius, and Callimachus, and Claudio, and couriers quoted Horace as they would hum an opera air. But a new version of the Iliad is still sure to attract attention. It addresses itself to the popular taste, not depending upon temporary fashion ; and, unlike an edition even of *Aeschylus*, can hardly be considered a success, unless it be known beyond the verge of the curiosity of schoolmasters and schoolboys.

There are two very distinct kinds of translation ; the one designed to glorify the translator, the other the original ; the one to display the universality of the writer's sensibility, the other to remind those who have been familiar, more or less, with the original, of its beauties, and to light up for them and revive their own past emotions. Pope has made Homer an English classic. Pope's Homer—or, as it ought to be called, Pope's Iliad—is praised as freely and directly as the 'Essay on Criticism,' or the 'Imitations of Horace.' But the original itself is, in his rendering, only admired, as it were, by analogy. Men infer the grandeur of the old Greek from the power of this its reflection, paraphrase, or imitation. Mr. Wright has not made it his object to outdo Pope on his own ground. But he has endeavoured to supply a want which Pope has left. A perusal of this volume excites the wish to go to the original, and read that. It reminds us of its beauties, or suggests them to us. This, we think, is very high praise. It is as true a compliment to a translation to confess that one is filled by it with a longing to study the original, as is to an original descriptive poem the awakening of a desire, immediately after reading it, to compare it with the natural scenery.

This new version of the first six Books of the Iliad appeals for approbation, first, to scholars, to men, that is, who know the original, and wish to have it recalled to their memory in every line ; and, secondly, to those in an outer circle, and many there are, who have a loyal love for the true and real, and do not desire to have the grandest poet in the world tricked up to suit special conventional tastes of ear or manners. Such a volume cannot be properly judged by extracts. In a poetical translation the *general effect* should be harmony ; in the *details* accuracy ought to be the one thing consulted. It is no merit in such a work that the brilliancy is equable. The Iliad itself, in its native Greek, contains occasional bald passages ; but there the ringing eddying rhythm covers all, as the sea the sands and rocks. It provides a high road from noble thought to thought, till, to pursue the simile, the strip of sterility is passed by, and the fresh springs of fancy again well up close beside the brackish waves. A literal rendering must exhibit the bald incidents of daily life in all their

baldness. But we are convinced that no one can rise from reading this volume without a pleasant echo of the harmonious Greek itself rushing on the ear, and supplying every void.

It makes us think of Homer, and of his Iliad as it issued from his imagination, of *himself* as well as itself. This is higher praise than any panegyric on minute ingenuity in evading or spiritualizing some impracticably prosaic account of heroes cooking their own dinner. At the same time, the student will discover many very dexterous interpretations of the meaning, and the public will be relieved from the necessity of resorting, if it wish for Homer, and not a noble paraphrase, to Cowper's blunt fidelity and unrhythymical rendering of by far the most melodious of all poems. Especially spirited appears to us the rendering, throughout, of the fiery struggle between Greek and Trojan, commencing in Book IV. with,—

‘ When now, approaching near, the armies met,
Followed the clash of shield and spear, the shock
Of mail-clad warriors striving all their might
In fierce encounter. Bossy bucklers joined ;
And fearful was the din. Together rose
The shouts of victory and the groans of death.
Earth ran with blood. And e'en as wintry streams,
Rushing down mountains from vast reservoirs,
Through deep ravine, mingle in hollow chasm
Their mighty waters ; and the roar is heard
By listening shepherd on the distant hills ;
So from the shock of clashing warriors rose
The shout of Triumph and the cry of Fear.’

Book IV. 470—482.

A version of those scenes of continuous slaughter, which, without recourse, as in Pope, to inversion, paraphrase, and analogy, or bold omission, for variety, is yet not monotonous, is a triumphant defence of Homer against the common abuse of these portions of the poem on the score of barbarous sameness, a charge based on reminiscences partly of Cowper's depressing tameness, partly of Pope's too apparent endeavour to enliven what has been therefore assumed to be in itself dull.

We think the defects of the book are in details and particulars. Various words might, we fancy, be changed with advantage, so as to give the meaning yet more strictly, while, in other instances, English expressions, with a like conventional significance, might be chosen to represent Greek terms which had to Greek ears a common courtesy sense not given by the lexicon's equivalents. One instance may serve. ‘Αμύνωv should hardly be interpreted ‘blameless,’ applied as it is indiscriminately to the perfidious assassin Pandarus and the virtuous Menelaus. ‘Honorable,’ a term with a much vaguer connotation, would more nearly approach the poet's intention of indicating the ‘fine gentleman,’ though even then at some distance. A greater error appears to us to be Mr. Wright's rather un-systematic use of Greek and Latin names of deities. We are not ready to allow that it does not matter. Certainly it might be of comparatively

little importance whether the Greek or the Latin titles were employed in a poetical translation, but one or the other set should be used exclusively. The contradictory character as to attributes and acts, even of the parallel personages in the two mythologies, should not be obtruded before us by the employment of the two classes of names in close juxtaposition. There is one other thing we should be glad to have supplied in a second edition, but we cannot class the omission among defects. A most acceptable appendage to the work would have been a collation, in the form of footnotes, of the different renderings by German, Italian, or English translators, from Chapman's quaint and Hobbes' queer attempts downwards, both of the most beautiful and of the most obscure passages, with indications of the strong points in each varying interpretation. Few readers can afford the time, even if they have the ability, to consult every version for themselves. By this plan they would be enabled to learn at once the peculiar character and merits of each.

As for the metre, Mr. Wright has, we think, not sufficiently regarded the claims of English hexameters, a very noble and expansive rhythm, spite of the depreciation of it even by those who have most skilfully employed it. Yet, it must be confessed, the popular ear is scarcely at present used to it, nor is it used to the language. In default of that, the only form capable at once of being literal and harmonious, seems to be the blank heroic verse, which is here successfully employed in its place. That has been familiar for ages, and, as proved by Milton, Keats, and Tennyson, combines with the freedom of the Iambic a capacity for melody almost beyond compare. Any version in this metre has, *a priori*, a greater chance of approaching the original than one in the narrowest and most unbending by far of all forms of English verse, the rhyming heroic couplet.

The public, and especially critics, should be grateful to anyone who comments on, or translates the Iliad, in such a way, at least, as not to make it ridiculous. It is a good thing that what would be a reproach to any age should be taken away, viz. that the greatest of poets is 'still an inheritor of unfulfilled renown.' But the great benefit is, that any volume which displays, even to a single reader, the simple beauty of Homer, creates in that man a champion of good taste and nature, against bad taste and artifice in literature. We must repeat that it appears to us the merit of Mr. Wright's version that it does tend to this result, that it is thoroughly imbued with the life and spirit of the original, and that it will act as an earnest recruiting officer for it.

'The Social Effects of the Reformation. A Lecture by the Lord Bishop of Ripon.' (Nisbet.) Lectures, we suppose, are not to be governed by a stricter law than sermons; but in either case the licence of borrowing other people's matter must be regulated by some qualifications. If any preacher can thoroughly persuade himself that he is only pursuing the edification of his hearers in his sermons, and not his own homiletic reputation, few people would complain though his fine periods were found to belong to Newman or Jeremy Taylor, or though he had appropriated all his thrilling eloquence from Bossuet or Manning. This, however, is only as far as the audience is concerned: there are always two parties to a

sermon or lecture,—he who preaches and they who are preached at.' Now it is in the very nature of things impossible for the preacher or lecturer to divest himself of his own personality. He knows when he is successful, he feels when he is dull; so that it must be a very uncomfortable reflection to the lecturer, the more uncomfortable the more successful he is, to be perfectly conscious that his storm of oratory is not his own. This ought to present some qualms of conscience to the trader in the brains of others. There is, however, a distinction between a sermon and a lecture, especially an Exeter Hall lecture. Every parson is obliged to preach, and if he cannot write a sermon, he must beg, borrow, buy, or steal one. Now it is not part of the commission either of a priest or bishop to give Exeter Hall lectures. If, as we can quite understand, there are bishops or priests who are really not up to the trick of lecturing at Exeter Hall, there is no compulsion on them to lecture. Having nothing to say of their own, there is not the least occasion for them to appropriate without acknowledgment other people's observations and thoughts. Now, here is the Bishop of Ripon. Nobody, we suppose, would accuse Dr. Bickersteth of a superabundance of lecturing materials or lecturing power. It is no disgrace to him not to be able or willing to write a lecture for the Young Men's Christian Association, or if it is a disgrace, it is one which, for some reason or other, he shares with many others: at any rate, we should not feel it to be a discredit to decline the call of delivering lectures in company with Mr. Spurgeon and Dr. Cumming. But this is not Bishop Bickersteth's case. He has no objection to lecturing, not even to lecturing on other people's capital. It has been said that his Lordship—herein resembling Shakspere—has but small Latin and less Greek; a suspicion which certainly the present lecture confirms at p. 12, where his Lordship is led to speak of 'some antediluvian Megalotherium.' Well, even a Bishop is not bound to know the neuter gender of Megas; nor is he, as we have said, bound to be a lecturer. But if he is a lecturer, he ought to be careful of printing his lectures, knowing the sources of his information; that is, having nothing of his own to say, he is at least bound to say where he gets all his fine writing and fine facts. We can answer for one page in this Exeter Hall lecture—page 23 of 'The Social Effects of the Reformation'—being appropriated, without a single word of acknowledgment, and scarcely a verbal alteration, from this Review. Let the curious compare *Christian Remembrancer*, vol. xxxii. p. 73, with this page 23, the passage commencing, 'During the whole reign of Henry VII. the statutes of the realm give evidence,' &c. &c. Now, considering that this passage of ours—it is not a very remarkable one—was, and avowedly, founded upon citations from Acts of Parliament of a remote date, from Hollingshed—whom the Bishop of Ripon thinks proper to style Hollingshed—from Stowe, from Sir Thomas More, and from the famous Venetian ambassador in the sixteenth century, the question arises how Bishop Bickersteth felt when he delivered this particular passage, and when he corrected the proof of it? The passage has a certain look of research, literature, such as it is, and inquiry, superficial enough, but still of inquiry independent and original. Surely some difficulties must have entered his Lordship's mind when he transcribed the passage for the press, without a single word of the source

from whence it was taken. The passage, as we have said, is not worth much, but if it was worth—what shall we say?—transcribing, it was worth acknowledging. As it is, Bishop Bickersteth comes very near to Bishop Plunket. Both have printed and published as their own writings that which they did not write. There is, of course, a vast difference between stealing a whole charge from the Archbishop of Canterbury, and copying a single page from the *Christian Remembrancer*,—not that we are at all prepared to say that ours is the only page ‘conveyed’ by Bishop Bickersteth. We believe that there is not a single page in the whole lecture which is not in just the same way appropriated, without acknowledgment, from very common sources and the most ordinary books. But—as the *Record* will very properly feel in this matter—although it is of no great consequence that the Bishop of Ripon has been acquiring fame as a lecturer on the strength of the literature and researches of others, still it is a mistake, which in this case is much worse than a crime, that his Lordship has been so indiscreet as to pilfer from a source which, in certain quarters, must be so discreditable as the *Christian Remembrancer*.

Of a very different character, both as regards scholarship and real solid information, exhibiting a large as well as discriminating estimate both of what heathenism did and did not contain, is another lecture, of the same series, on ‘Socrates,’ delivered by Dr. Goulburn, and published by Rivingtons. It is fit for an audience of educational attainments much superior to those of the interesting body to which it was addressed.

Mr. John George Phillimore is certainly the most consummate master of indiscriminate railing at present extant. With an admirable and ludicrous impartiality he abuses every writer and every statesman alive, in language of a type which to call impassioned and vehement would be to do it less than justice. All our literature, all our polities, all our writers and men of rank, all our principles, and all our conclusions are wrong. And yet in a production full of the most mendacious and transparently absurd statements, he has contrived to produce a pamphlet, ‘The Divorce Court, its Evils, and the Remedy’ (Bond), which is quite worth reading. He says, and we wish that we could extract his vitriolic sentences, that the working of the Divorce Court is a social evil of the most scandalous character, that it is filling the land with a flood of obscenity and unutterable abomination. He objects to the existing Divorce Act; and he would ‘refuse to women in ordinary cases of adultery, in cases of adultery coupled with cruelty, or followed by desertion, any remedy but that given by the old law, of a judicial separation.’ 2. He would appoint an officer to sift the suits, and to do that which the Court cannot do, prevent collusion. 3. He would have three judges instead of one, and he would abolish juries. 4. He would prevent the marriage of the guilty parties. 5. And finally, ‘the scenes of the Divorce Court have converted him to the doctrine that the parties contracting a marriage should not be allowed to marry again during the life of the other, and that the relief given by the Court should stop at separation à mensa et thoro.’ In other words, Mr. John George Phillimore, upon the strongest moral and social considerations, is perfectly convinced that divorce, under any circumstances, is a crime and a mistake, and a great

social wrong. So far we are not aware that any opponent of the present wretched and unfortunate Divorce Act has gone further, and we are certain that not one of those who in vain tried to resist this most unhappy enactment has ever expressed himself with Mr. Phillimore's burning words of condemnation. But with an impudence unparalleled—Mr. Phillimore is fond of strong language, so he will sympathise with it—this writer actually charges every defect and vice of the present law on those who resisted it in Parliament. The law is a very bad one; but it was 'the violent opposition of the Bishops and Mr. Gladstone' which made it what it is. This actual state of things is, that 'A deluge of abominations has overspread the land. The causes before the new tribunal, rival in all that is loath-some, foul, and brutal, those of the lowest police-court. Everything most shocking and offensive in the manners and habits of the most sensual and coarsest classes, all the elements of obscenity, violence, falsehood, and malevolence are there sucked up and gathered together in one pestilential cloud, and thence discharged in fetid currents on the surface of the country . . . the noisome sink is never dry.' 'Holywell Street, at its very worst,' is the result of the Act, which is quite true: but when Mr. Phillimore coolly assures us that this is not the fault of Sir Richard Bethell, 'the D'Aguesseau of England,' but 'of a spirit of ambition, avarice, and hypocrisy of the Bishops,' backed by 'Mr. Gladstone, who is born without the power of distinguishing a sound from an unsound argument, as some persons are born without the sense of smelling,' we are afraid that this lamentable rather than ludicrous misstatement of facts will entirely neutralise the effect of a remonstrance against the working of the act as forcible as it is true.

This subject naturally suggests another of kindred importance, the agitation, now nearly successful, to change the Marriage Law, with reference to a Deceased Wife's Sister—a measure which, if carried, it is scarcely concealed, will lead to the relaxation of perhaps all the prohibited degrees. We have now another year's breathing time. Lord Bury's Bill was lost in the House of Lords by a very narrow majority; and unless the interval is properly spent, there can be no question whatever that the measure will be carried: and carried not so much, perhaps, by any feeling of the country in its favour, which is decidedly the other way, but by the apathy of the friends, and we will add the ministers, of religion. Forty-nine peers, of whom the spiritual lords formed by no means an imposing element, were alone found to prefer their duty to the Church and to the social and moral interests of the community, to 'other engagements' and the imperative claims of dinner, on the 22d March last. To do Lord Wodehouse justice, he polled or paired his last man. Now in this state of things one course alone can, humanly speaking, avert the threatened evil; it is to the clergy that the country looks both for guidance and agitation. The clergy can, if they please, bring up such an array of petitions, that the sense and feeling of the country can no longer be appealed to by the unscrupulous agitators for innovation. And ecclesiastical authorities must be appealed to, and, if need be, compelled by the action of the inferior clergy, to allow an expression of opinion in all corporate and formal quarters. The Bishop of London

has announced himself to be willing to represent the feelings of his clergy ; and to do them justice, for once the Metropolitan Clergy, as expressed by the Westminster Clergy, Sion College, and the Archdeaconry of London, have not been slow to declare themselves. This example ought not to be lost upon other dioceses : and those Bishops, not few, who systematically, on the occasion of this subject being introduced into the House of Lords, think proper to absent themselves, must at least be without the excuse of ignorance of the sentiments of their dioceses. What we would venture to suggest by way of work before the next session of Parliament, is, 1. For the clergy of each diocese to memorialize the Bishop on the subject, respectfully yet very distinctly, requesting his Lordship to express the feeling of the clergy in his place in Parliament. 2. To disseminate all information, by cheap tracts and otherwise, on the subject, towards which object, unless we are misinformed, an organization in London is now forming. 3. And, above all, to prepare petitions. It may be thought that we are recommending dictation to Rural Deans, Archdeacons, and Bishops : but what are these ecclesiastical organizations for, unless to embody the constitutional sentiments of the clergy ? We have never joined in Archdeacon Denison's question, ' Why do the Bishops sit in the House of Lords ?' because hitherto we have acquiesced in the conventional assumption that the Bishops in Parliament do represent the clergy ; but when we find only eight of their Lordships in the recent division voting in the majority, the old answer looks rather like a mockery. On this subject, among many other valuable publications, we have ' May a Man marry his Deceased Wife's Sister ' by Mr. F. A. Dawson (Parker) ; Dr. Wordsworth's admirable Sermon (Occasional Sermons, No. LV.) on ' Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister (Rivingtons) ; ' Her Sister, shall I marry her ? ' (Groombridge) and a useful Tract by Mr. Simpson, ' Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister ' (Batty).

Another subject, not remotely connected with these considerations, presents itself. Two years ago we took occasion to draw attention to the mode in which Lent Services were conducted in the Dioceses of Oxford and Bristol respectively. It will be remembered that the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol refused to give his sanction and encouragement to a scheme of daily evening service, with a sermon, during the holy season, on the ground that it was a party move, made by party men. These services have now been continued for twelve consecutive years in one of the central churches in the ancient city of Bristol. We have now before us a list of the subjects and the names of the preachers, thirty-four in number, including those of many who have given their assistance in former years, with the addition of a few from other dioceses. We see in this an additional proof of the assertion that a bishop is utterly helpless if he does not throw himself into the views of his clergy. Probably by this time the Bishop has discovered that he made a miscalculation of the number of his clergy who would choose to class themselves with any school, and perhaps regrets that he gave out so publicly his adhesion to the Evangelicals, and his approval of party views, when they coincide with his own. Mischiefous as the discouragement of a Bishop must be to any scheme of good projected in his diocese, we think we may congratulate the clergy of that

diocese on the spirit with which these services have been kept up. We trust that there is now no danger of their being discontinued. The noble work now in progress in the diocese of Oxford makes us confident that, under a vigorous administration, all popular tendencies may be brought within the Church's influence. There is a preaching mania abroad which the Bishop of Oxford is wisely using for revivals and missions of the best sort in his diocese; and even in London we are not without hope that the desultory and unsystematic sermons, confined as they are too much to preachers either of no note, or a single and narrow school, at the Sunday Evening Services at S. Paul's and Westminster, will gradually subside into a systematic course of practical instruction. At present, apart from the accidental benefit of accustoming the masses to a formal and reverential service, we can see no benefit whatever from the Special Services in London, and positive injury when these large congregations are called upon to use such hymns, tasteless in music, and heretical and unsound in language, and false in sentiment, as many of those inserted in 'Mercer's Collection.'

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